

Svínfellinga Saga

A new critical edition of BL Add. 11, 127 fol.

by

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For my husband, Dawid Viljoen,
who never doubted the value of what I was doing
and without whom this task would never have been completed.

Æghwæþres sceal
scearp scyldwiga gescad witan,
word ond worca, se þe wel þenceð
(**Beowulf**, 287b–89)

[A sharp shield-warrior of upright mind must
know how to distinguish both words and deeds.]

Hans aldar
mun æ vesa
at góðu getit.
(**Hákonarmál** 19)

[His life
will ever be
given good report.]

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ABSTRACT

This is the first self-contained critical edition based on the most significant 17th-century paper copy of the text of **Reykjarfjarðarbók** (AM 122b fol.), one of the two remaining vellum manuscripts of **Sturlunga saga**. Information about BL Add. 11,127 has hitherto been available only in annotations to editions of composite texts of the **Sturlunga** compilation and a few separate editions of its shorter sagas. This edition shows the nature of the 17th-century paper copy, its language, orthography and spelling, and reveals some linguistic change from the 14th century. Textual notes document all instances where BL Add. 11,127 differs from the other vellum manuscript, **Króksfjarðarbók** (AM 122a fol.), and two other paper copies: Stockholm pap. 8 4to and Adv. MS 21.3.17. The manuscripts have been examined and transcribed at first hand. The texts of the editions of **Sturlunga saga** by Vigfusson (1878), Kålund (1906–11), Jóhannesson et al. (1946) and Thorsson et al. (1988) are also considered. Lexical, syntactic, discursive and factual differences are shown to render a crisp, faster-moving, often more dramatic text, one which displays creativity and individuality in its processes of selection, abbreviation, addition and composition.

The saga is placed in its social, historical and literary context and shown to reveal the tensions and contradictions of its age. The interpolation, hitherto excluded by editors, is shown to be part of the thematic and narrative design, linking the saga to the broader sweep of events in the Sturlung age which led to the loss of Iceland's independence. The glossary lists all words, their inflexions and conjugations, and gives grammatical and idiomatic explanations. The general notes, genealogical tables and the map of Iceland relevant to the text provide lexical, historical and literary background. Translations of sections difficult to trace elsewhere are appended.

Leonie Viljoen

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February 1995

PREFACE

The idea for this edition originated on an early spring day in Reykjavík in 1989, when Professor Bjarni Guðnason suggested that I should edit *Svínfellinga saga*. Looking back, I have to wonder whether it had been an abandoned pet project of his own, or whether he had any idea of what it was that he was asking me to do. To be quite truthful, at that stage I had never heard of the saga, yet a few things Bjarni said stuck in my memory: the saga is part of the thirteenth-century *Sturlunga* compilation, it deals with events in the lives of a family on a famous farm in south-east Iceland during a particularly turbulent time in Iceland's history, the story is a good one which has never been edited satisfactorily. A week later I was standing on the glacier at Svínafell, listening to the creaking and dripping of the melting ice, overwhelmed by the backdrop of snow, mountains, innumerable waterfalls, glacial lakes, and the vast, lonely expanse of black lava desert. Saga country had taken a grip on my heart. I knew that I would have to explore this saga and everything that I could find out about it.

What strikes the reader about the textual information available on the vellum manuscripts and paper copies of the text of *Sturlunga* saga is the fact that most scholars or commentators mention the text of the paper copy in the British Library (Add. 11,127) in negative terms: Vigfusson based his edition on it, **but did not do it accurate justice**. Kålund **did not have time to study it in detail**, but worked from notes made during a brief visit. These comments recur virtually verbatim in all discussions of the *Sturlunga* manuscripts, together with the fact that BL Add. 11,127 is the most reliable of the paper copies of one of the two great vellum manuscripts, *Reykjarfjarðarbók*, of which only about thirty pages remain. The question which no-one seems to have stopped to ask – or to answer – is: what is the nature of this manuscript and how does it differ from the others? Jóhannesson *et al.* disentangled

the texts of the various individual sagas intertwined in the compilation, and arrived at an eclectic, composite text, retaining the best, or most reliable, or fullest version of each incident. This produces a readable text which tells a good story, but it does not say anything about **Br**, its impact on the reader, or about the processes of selection, abbreviation, addition and composition which resulted in its individual shape. It is these questions which this study set out to answer.

The aim was also to provide a self-contained edition of the text of *Svínfellinga saga*, based on that of BL Add. 11,127 and suitable for students who have not had a great deal of experience in the reading of Old Icelandic literature or exposure to the history and society of medieval Iceland. To this end the apparatus provides the necessary social, historical and literary background and offers some information about and assistance in textual editing and translation.

At the commencement of this project the best possible word-processing programme able to deal with the Icelandic orthography was employed. As it does not offer italics for the twelve-point italic font, bold type has been used wherever normal editing convention would require italics, for instance in titles of books and for quotations in foreign languages.

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I should also like to thank the English Department of the University of South Africa for their financial assistance and generous practical and moral support.

I am deeply indebted to the Árni Magnússon Institute in Reykjavík and its previous and current directors, Jónas Kristjánsson and Stefán Karlsson, who generously supported my work by providing new photographs of the pages of AM 122a fol., AM 439 4to and AM 114 fol. relevant to *Svínfellinga saga*, thus enabling me to examine the text at first hand. Prof. John van der Westhuizen of the University of Cape Town has been unstinting in his encouragement, expert assistance and valuable criticism. Ken Saycell's editorial skills have been invaluable in the preparation of the final draft. Barrie Goedhals has spent many hours drawing the map in his inimitable manner, and Judy Frames has expertly typed the genealogical tables.

A project such as this can never be completed without the encouragement of colleagues, friends and family, and I have received this in rich measure. I am particularly grateful to my mother, who saw the beginnings of my work but did not live to witness its culmination, to my daughters and sons-in-law for their interest, support, understanding and patience, and to my husband, to whom I dedicate this work, for many exhausting, painstaking hours of reading and meticulous checking.

INTRODUCTION

The last years of the Icelandic Commonwealth: the social and historical context of *Svínfellinga saga*

Literature is not created in a vacuum: literary works provide insight into their historical, social and ethical milieu. Conversely, a knowledge of the social and historical context of a literary work can add further dimensions to its impact and significance. Any discussion of *Svínfellinga saga*,¹ therefore, has to start with a survey of the historical period it portrays and in which it was written.

Conditions in the crucial transitional years of the society in Iceland around 1200 to 1262 are poignantly described by Sveinsson (1953: 1-5) as follows:

Everything is constantly shifting; the chessboard of political life is never for a moment the same, as new alliances are formed and broken. Now slippery policy has the upper hand, now naked force All is restless motion Everywhere there are crowds of people on the move [E]vents begin to move more swiftly, like a great river encountering a sudden declivity in its course; nothing can any longer hold them back. Quarrels, incursions, manslaughter, battles, burnings The river rushes down the rapids; its course levels out – but by then the nation has become subject to a foreigner. The quarrels of the chieftains grow quiet – but it is the quiet of death.

This turbulent, volatile century of the Icelandic Commonwealth, known as the Age of the Sturlungs, has a bad name: it is a time of contradictions, notorious for every kind of outrage – warfare, atrocities, murders, treachery, immorality and,

¹ The use of bold print for titles and foreign quotations in this edition is explained in the Preface.

finally, submission to foreign power. Ironically, it is also the time of a unique constitution and an elaborate legal system hard to reconcile with the general decline of the rule of law in the land. But the Sturlung age is also a time of immense cultural richness and creative vitality; the time of Snorri Sturluson with his *Edda* and *Heimskringla*; the time of the creation of the *Íslendingasögur*, the great Icelandic Family sagas; the time of the creation of *Sturlunga saga*, a thirteenth-century compiler's attempt to fashion a chronological narrative of this period of tumult and tragedy moving towards collapse and disaster.

In this compilation, setting forth the history of important families during these crucial years, *Svínfellinga saga*, the story of the family at Svínafell between 1241 and 1252, has a fairly minor role. However, it is exceptional as the only saga in the compilation concerned with one family in south-east Iceland, out of the mainstream of the turbulent events of the age. The saga restricts itself to the conflict between Sæmundr and Guðmundr, sons of Ormr Jónsson of Svínafell, and their uncle Ögmundr Helgason of Kirkjubær á Síðu. Ögmundr was married to Steinunn, the sister of Ormr Jónsson. Guðmundr, Sæmundr's younger brother, was fostered by Ögmundr and Steinunn after his father Ormr's death. The saga deals with the clashes between two overbearing, unyielding men, Sæmundr and his uncle Ögmundr, in which a whole district community is eventually involved. In the end the two brothers are ambushed and killed by Ögmundr and his men, who receive various sentences of outlawry and destabilize the community even further upon their removal from the district. In the text on which this edition is based, the paper copy in the British Library (BL Add. MS 11,127), a long interpolation links the saga to the conflicts of chieftains elsewhere in the country, men like Gizurr Þorvaldsson, Þórðr kakali and Þorgils skarði. An examination of this small saga renders vivid

details of events, of shifting alliances, of straining ties of kinship, of religion and law, all of which reveal much of the pervading spirit of the time.

The Svínfellings were one of the six great families who gained ascendancy during the Sturlung age. Already before 1200 their dominion extended over all of the Eastern Quarter and, although they kept mostly to themselves, from time to time they became embroiled in the quarrels of other powerful chieftains. The conflict between the Ormssons and Ögmundr Helgason, which are the subject of *Svínfellinga saga*, arose near the middle of the thirteenth century and the family did not escape their share in the disasters of the age (Sveinsson 1953: 3).

* * * * *

The changes in the social fabric during the Sturlung age which led to these disastrous times have to be seen against the background of the establishment of the Icelandic state, when an elaborate and unique legislative and judicial system was designed to maintain the social and political equilibrium, a system which from the beginning made no provision for any executive power. This social system evolved from the conditions of settlement: most of the early settlers in Iceland belonged to the old Norwegian aristocracy. Some were sons of kings and jarls, and others were *hersar* or local chieftains, who also acted as priests conducting the public worship. They were leaders of the people, an upper class with extensive time-honoured privileges who brought with them Norwegian laws and Norwegian traditions of justice (Gjerset 1924: 29). In the absence of an indigenous population, they could settle anywhere without the need to cluster together for protection. Individual farmsteads became self-sufficient economic units with a great degree of political

freedom. These settlers developed economic and legal mechanisms to regulate the public control of power and the conduct of feud, thus preventing the development of overlordship.² This was essentially a stateless society – the leaders wielded little executive power and the individual **bondi** or freeman enjoyed a greater measure of self-determination than he would have done under a lord (Byock 1990: 4–5). In about 930 the settlers brought about a significant event in their history: they established the **alþingi**, with centralized legislation applying to the entire country. The new social structure was an ‘aristocratic democracy’ (Gjerset 1924: 34), an oligarchy (Tucker 1989: 11), with the administration of the country, the legislative authority and the selection of judges in the hands of the chieftains or **goðar**. The balance of power on which the **alþingi** rested was based on these chieftains, who adopted the title **goði**, a word derived from **goð**, meaning ‘god’. This title is significant, because it recalls the fact that the **goðar** initially fulfilled a religious function. The office combined administrative and judicial duties with the dignity of priesthood. Wealthier, more powerful settlers built heathen temples on their farms, which were religious centres for their districts, and strengthened their power base.

The **goðorð**, the office of the **goði**, was not technically democratic: the **goðar** were not elected and each **goði** exercised free control over his own **goðorð**. At the **alþingi**, however, the **goðar** were all on an equal footing. The **goði** had many official duties. He had to attend the **alþingi**, sit on the legislature, appoint judges, hold spring and autumn assemblies, and uphold law and order. The **goðorðs** were exempt from tax, could be bought and sold, loaned or inherited, and represented power,

²

It is important to remember that, ‘rather than an aberrant and socially destructive force to be controlled by sheriffs, bailiffs, marshals, and royal justiciars, feud in Iceland was a socially stabilizing process’ (Byock 1982: 28), brought about in the early period of settlement by the special relationship which developed between the farmers and the chieftains.

rather than wealth. Thus it happens in *Svínfellinga saga* that, upon the death of Ormr Jónsson, the father of Sæmundr and Guðmundr, Sæmundr inherits the *goðorð* and takes over the control of power in the district. First signs of trouble appear when his uncle Ögmundr starts to assume a dominant role in the administrative affairs of the district, even though he does not possess a *goðorð*.³

The relationship between the chieftains and the individual farmers was a reciprocal one; their interdependence required mutual trust and involved far-reaching moral obligations.⁴ Every *bondi* had to be ‘in thing’ with a *goði* and was obliged to attend the spring assembly before the *alþingi* or send a representative. Farmers who had a certain amount of capital (to the value of a cow, a boat, a net or its equivalent for each member of his family) were known as ‘thing-tax-paying farmers’ who had to pay the *þing* tax, *þingfararkaup*, to their *goði*. The *goði* could expect one in every nine of them to ride to the *alþingi* with him and to support him there. They provided their own horses and food, but their *goði* supplied them with lodging and compensated them from the tax paid by those who did not attend (Byock 1990: 82-83). The income of the *goði* was not large, and probably never fully covered the expenses connected with his public duties. Thus the *goðorð* was not primarily a source of income, but represented political and social power.⁵

³ Karlsson (1977: 368–70) sees this as an example of how the big farmers, wealthy men who lived on prosperous church farms, could challenge the *höfðingjar* (his term for *stórbændr*, the big chieftains of the thirteenth century), thus disrupting the equilibrium of power in the district. Ögmundr is such a prosperous farmer who kills his *goði*.

⁴ The central value of their code of conduct was *hóf*, a term implying moderation in the seeking of personal power (Byock 1982: 28).

⁵ Gjerset (1924: 45) makes the point that as the *goði* had to display on all occasions the munificence becoming a chieftain, his expenses were often quite out of proportion to his limited income, hence the old laws state that a *goðorð* was not to be made subject to tithes, since ‘it is an office of power but not one of profit’.

Goðorðs were not geographically defined, so that the subject's choice of **goði** was not determined by his place of residence. He could choose among the chieftains who lived in his quarter but his family and tenants had to belong to the same **goðorð**. Without the farmers, the **þingmenn**, the chieftain had no power, so that it was the farmers who gave a democratic character to what was essentially an aristocratic form of government. A strong sense of freedom, independence, pride and responsibility developed among the people from these rights of the **þingmenn** (Sveinsson 1952: 9). However, the democratic freedom of choice the farmers or **bondi** enjoyed could lead to the ascendancy of more popular or more powerful **goðar**, which in turn had the potential to influence the balance of power between the chieftains. Strong men could be their own executive authority, while at the same time resisting the exercise of power by others. For the same reason, the **bondi** had to rely on the chieftain in order to obtain justice. This made the chieftain potentially very powerful and also rendered the internal stability of the state extremely fragile.

The **alþingi** was a distinctly organized national assembly, and one of the first bodies of this kind in history. It had two functions, legislative and judicial, and these were separated at the outset with the establishment within the assembly of a high court of justice, the **alþingisdómur**, which exercised the highest legal jurisdiction for the entire country. Its legislative arm was called the **lögrétta**, which, besides the **lögsögumaður** and the two bishops (after the introduction of Christianity), consisted of 144 members divided into three groups or benches. The first group consisted of the thirty-nine **goðar** of the principal **goðorðs** together with nine additional members chosen in order to give all the quarters an equal representation. The **lögrétta** had to proclaim the law, explain it, and, in cases of doubt, decide what the law was. It

also passed new laws and reformed old law clauses, gave dispensation from the law, elected the law-speaker and probably represented the Icelandic people abroad.

Seen from a modern perspective, the end of the Icelandic Commonwealth was inevitable from its inception. The absence of effective central control and executive power allowed the development of a spirit of feud and violence which showed the different districts unable to grant impartial justice. The defects of the legal system of the old Icelandic Commonwealth led to its reform. The entire country was divided into four quarters, each of which contained three þing districts, except the northern quarter which had four. Each of these thirteen þing districts comprised three of the thirty-nine goðorðs and had their own local court, the várþing or spring court, which sat during the spring each year. The spring- and quarter-assemblies were judicial assemblies, as were the alþingi's four superior quarter-courts, fjórðungsdómr, one for each quarter. All judgements at the spring or quarter assemblies could be subject to appeal at the alþingi and were then dealt with in the judicial court for the quarter in which the defendant lived. Judges were appointed by the goðar for each case. Each goði chose four judges and then it was decided by lot in which court each judge would sit, thus ensuring the neutrality of the goðar. A new court of justice, the fifth court or fimmtardómr, was established (c. 1005) during the tenure of Skafti Þóroddson as law-speaker (1004–1031) to function both as a court of first instance in certain cases and as a court of appeal. The only later change to this system was that bishops became members of the lögrétta with unrestricted voting rights as a result of the church's quest for secular power in Iceland.

As a consequence of this intricate legal system, during the time of the Commonwealth trials were very complicated and a strict adherence to formalities

was a natural deterrent against bias from the outset. Sentences were carefully laid down by the law, and the court decided only whether the defendant was guilty or not guilty. There were three common kinds of punishment: fines, three years' exile (known as lesser outlawry), and the so-called *skóggangr*, which meant that the convicted man was not allowed to live anywhere among other men and could be captured and killed anywhere, at any time and in any way. This amounted, in effect, to the death sentence. The convicted man could, if he had enough power and support, remain alive without the plaintiff being able to catch and kill him. The severe punishment of complete banishment was seldom inflicted, however.

A strange duality thus existed in Icelandic society: an elaborate system of law acted through the courts, while the old custom of personal revenge lived on, manifesting itself in feuding and personal vengeance. The almost total lack of administrative authority left the *alþingi* weak and ultimately ineffectual. There were no military forces nor any police authority as these functions of government were retained by the *goðorðs*. The chieftains guarded their own power so carefully that they failed to vest the lawspeaker, the *lögsögumaðr*, or any other functionary with executive authority. The *alþingi* was utterly helpless if chieftains chose to ignore its decrees and sanctity. Ker (1906:5) states that the paradoxes of the Icelandic constitution could be 'summed up, very roughly, as "all law and no government"'. He continues by giving a quotation from a gloss in Adam of Bremen used by Maurer: *Apud illos non est rex nisi tantum lex*.

Thus the Icelandic state system, founded on the *goðorðs*, depended for its stability on the permanence of these fundamental units. In turn, their nature was too indeterminate for them to form a satisfactory basis of social organization: they had no fixed boundaries, the constituents could transfer their allegiance from one

goði to another, the *goðorð* was a private possession and there was no limit on the number of *goðorðs* that could be held by a single chieftain. Consequently, it was virtually impossible to maintain the original equality of the *goðar*. Popular chieftains could find adherents even in the remotest districts and eventually a few powerful leaders could come to a position of domination. In these circumstances, men began to rely on strength instead of law. The weaker chieftains allied themselves with the stronger. Through the alienation of the *goðorðs*, the *þing* system was also seriously disturbed, so that the courts were no longer able to render impartial justice.⁶

Consequently, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, changes occurred in the balance of power: the number of chieftains diminished and the power of the remaining ones, the *stórgoðar* or 'large chieftains', emerging from the most wealthy and powerful chieftain families, increased.⁷ Whereas the Iceland of the Saga Age (c. 930-1030) was an aristocratic democracy, the power of the six leading families, attained through the acquisition of multiple *goðorðs* through 'Kauf, Heirat, ... Gewalt', resulted in an oligarchy (Heusler 1912: 8). At the beginning of the Sturlung Age (c. 1200) these six families more or less controlled all of Iceland. They were the Svínfellingar, the Oddaverjar, the Haukdælir, the Vatnsfirðingar, the Ásbirningar and the Sturlungar. The Sturlungar are a good example of how the

⁶ As Gjerset (1924: 153) remarks,

Respect for the law was destroyed in the same degree that the courts were deprived of their ability to act as impartial judicial tribunals, and arrogant chieftains gained such power that they could defy the courts and commit lawless acts with impunity. ...[T]he *goðar* often became dangerous exponents of lawlessness, cynical flouters of all authority who shrank from no violence in their pursuit of selfish aims.

⁷ 'Die reichen Leute wurden reicher, ehrgeiziger, habgieriger; die armen abhängiger, der kleine Bauernadel starb aus, grosse Landsgebiete fielen in wenige Hände.' (Bætke 1967: 6–7)

gravitation towards these few families served to satisfy personal ambition at the expense of national stability. They rose to the greatest power although they had probably not initially possessed a **goðorð**. The power of this family eventually became so great and they played such a prominent part in the disastrous events that led to the loss of Icelandic independence that the years 1200–1265 are known as the Sturlung Period.

The destabilizing effect of this increase in the power of individual leaders was especially evident in the years 1220–1260. The absence of the stabilizing influence of a central government and the new evils growing out of inherent faults in the social system enabled the spirit of discord to flame up with such violence that it finally broke down all legal and religious restraints, wrecked the established state organization, and finally destroyed the people's national independence.⁸

The lack of effective social organization, which gradually led to the collapse of the rule of law and the undermining of the state, also affected the church.

Iceland's acceptance of Christianity in c. 1000 had been a pragmatic and expedient compromise to avoid civil war between the adherents of the two rival religions, traditional Norse paganism on the one hand, and Christianity on the other. Priests were normally members of the **goði**'s household, which would make it difficult for them to maintain the independence of their churches. Byock (1990: 146–47) maintains that the Icelandic church does not seem to have supplanted Iceland's tradition of secular self-governance and that it was vulnerable to secular

⁸ Schach (1984: 22) identifies the root of the problem as follows:

Perhaps the most dangerous vice of the Sturlung Age was avarice – the unscrupulous, unrelenting drive of rich and mighty chieftains and farmers for more wealth and power. The most conspicuous weakness of this age was the lack of **hóf**, that is, moderation and self-control. It is not simply fortuitous that **hóf** should become the highest virtue for saga-writers.

interference because the control of its property and authority was in the hands of laymen. The choice of bishops was exercised by the *alþingi*, which placed this function in the hands of the aristocracy. The church of Iceland was strongly national and secular in spirit, so that it failed to curb prevalent evils or exercise spiritual leadership. The struggle for power both between the church and the chieftain class, and among the chieftains themselves, contributed to the fall of the Commonwealth. The year 1238 marks the beginning of a new and important epoch in the history of the Icelandic Church when foreign bishops were first consecrated for the episcopal sees. These bishops were unfamiliar with the national traditions of Iceland and tried to introduce the laws and customs of the Universal Church, virtually ignoring the Icelandic laws and the time-honoured customs of the people. The two bishops Heinrekr and Sivarðr consistently supported the King of Norway in his efforts to establish his authority in Iceland (Jóhannesson 1974: 216).

Some scholars place the onset of the age of the Sturlungs at around 1220 (e.g. Jóhannesson 1974: 239, Byock 1982: 71) – the Sturlungs had then begun to assert themselves. Several other factors contributed to the political strife at this time: there was internal strife among secular chiefs over wealth and authority, the royal power in Norway had become directly involved in Icelandic affairs and the Icelandic church struggled to secure greater rights for the clerical ranks. Other contributing factors are also worth mentioning: insufficient overseas traffic and difficulties in foreign trade, famine and plague, and bad years affecting living conditions, especially among the poor (Sveinsson 1953: 56-57).

Sturla Þórðarson, the ancestor of the Sturlungs, who died in 1183, was never very powerful, but his three sons, Þórðr, Sighvatr and Snorri, collaborated very well until around 1220 and at that time the family was the most powerful in the country.

They had acquired great wealth and influence. Through marriage and other means they had become owners of large estates and were related to the most prominent Icelandic families. Þórðr, of Staðr in Snæfellsnes, was considered the most powerful man in the west of Iceland. In the northern districts Sighvatr had risen to equal prominence and wealth, and was related by marriage to Kolbein Tumason and Sigurðr Ormsson. Snorri gained wealth, influence and power through marriage, inheritance and shrewd management.⁹

Snorri was elected *lögsögumaðr* in 1215, and when his term of office expired in 1218, he visited Norway, remaining for two years and enjoying the highest favour of King Hákon Hákonarson and his regent, Skuli Jarl. At the time of this visit relations between the Norwegians and the Icelanders were strained. Snorri counselled moderation and peaceful measures, thus dissuading Skuli from attacking Iceland. Snorri argued that it would be better to secure the friendship of the most influential chieftains in Iceland in order to persuade them to submit voluntarily to the king of Norway. Gjerset (1924: 172) concludes that Snorri's suggestion was probably a 'diplomatic artifice' to avert a Norwegian expedition to his country. In

⁹ Conflicting views about him are held by historians. Thus Gjerset (1924: 167) says of him that ...he was not only a prominent leader, but a farsighted patriot, who loved peaceful development and social order, and he must have viewed with serious misgivings the growing spirit of strife and lawlessness which more and more endangered the existence of the state, while Schach (1984: 97) holds the view that Snorri Sturluson seems to have been a perfect embodiment of the vices and virtues of the Sturlung Age. Ambivalent and enigmatic, Snorri both courted and feared the power of the Norwegian crown. Like many of his contemporaries, he was ruthless and relentless in his pursuit of power and prestige. At the same time he was one of the most significant and influential writers of medieval Europe.

return, Snorri had to guarantee the safety of Norwegian merchants in Iceland, promise to use his influence to bring Iceland under the dominion of Norway in a peaceful way and send his son to Norway as a hostage.

Back in Iceland he was received with hostility and accused of having tried to favour Norway at the expense of his own people. Snorri made no attempt to fulfil his promise to the Norwegians to bring Iceland under their control, but protected Norwegian merchants in Iceland as agreed.

It is clear that an efficient central Icelandic government would have united the powers of the various chieftains against foreign interference. Instead, the country's safety, its judicial system and its social order were all sacrificed in the strife waged by rival leaders after Snorri's return in 1220. The resulting civil war enveloped nearly all parts of the country. The Sturlung brothers stood divided in this struggle, becoming the leaders of the opposing factions. Snorri Sturluson remained at Reykjaholt and allied himself with the Oddaverjar in southern Iceland. After his return from Norway in 1220, Snorri strengthened his position in several ways: he married Hallveig, the widow of his adversary Björn Þorvaldsson, at the time the richest heiress in Iceland; his daughter Þordís was married to Þorvaldr of Vatnsfjörðr; his other daughter Ingibjörg was married to Gizurr, the son of his friend Þorvaldr Gizurarson; he won the support of his brother Þórðr; he was re-elected *lögsögumaðr* in 1222 and again in 1231. He became the richest and most powerful man in southern Iceland. Sighvatr Sturluson became related by marriage to Kolbeinn Tumason of northern Iceland and Sigurðr Ormsson of Svínafell in eastern Iceland, the three forming a strong confederacy; Þórðr Sturluson, regarded as the leading chieftain in the southwestern districts, tried to remain neutral.

A bitter controversy between Snorri, on the one hand, and Sighvatr and his son Sturla on the other, about the Snorrunga *goðorð*, resulted in a brutal attack by the

Vatnsfjörðr chiefs on the home of Sturla. In this attack women and children were killed and the farmstead robbed and looted, although Sturla himself was away from home at the time. Snorri seems to have been innocent of this outrage, and from this time onwards relations between him and Sturla grew more cordial until they reached a final settlement of their difficulty in 1230. Friendly relations were also established between Snorri and his brother Sighvatr, Sturla's father, resulting in a period of peace in Iceland, albeit shortlived. Sturla Sighvatsson offered the Vatnsfjörðr chieftains a peaceful settlement for their attack on his home, but their insolence finally made him break the agreement and slay them both, thereupon departing on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1232.

Snorri's illegitimate son Orækja, now taking possession of the disputed Vatnsfjörðr *goðorð*, pursued vile exploits with unbridled violence, only temporarily subdued by the intervention of Sighvatr Sturluson, Snorri's brother.

On his return from Rome, Sturla Sighvatsson spent some time in Norway, eventually promising without hesitation to subjugate Iceland to Norway, receiving the title of jarl in return. Aside from his own ambitious plans, king Hákon desired to establish peace, order and stability in Iceland, and warned Sturla not to use violence or kill any of the leaders, but to send to Norway those whom he wished to get rid of. Sturla agreed, but left the king's warning unheeded. His treason would soon lead to violence and civil war.

From 1235 onward there was much unrest in the country. On his arrival in Iceland that year, Sturla Sighvatsson assembled military forces to attack Snorri Sturluson, demanding full reparation for the damages done by his son Orækja. Eventually a preliminary agreement was reached by Sturla and Orækja, only to be broken by the incredible treachery of Sturla, who seized Orækja and ordered him to

be blinded, a command only partially obeyed, as Orækja was allowed to escape to Norway. With the aid of Þorleifr of Garðar Snorri raised an army of 480 men, but they were defeated by Sturla with his superior force at Bær. Þorleifr and Oláfr Þórðarson were taken prisoner and compelled to leave Iceland. At this time King Hákon Hákonarson summoned the *goðorðsmenn* to Norway. Snorri and Þórðr kakali accompanied Þorleifr and Oláfr to Norway. The final struggle for the overlordship in Iceland resulted in Sturla's death at the battle of Örlygsstaðir, where the confederate chieftains mustered an army of 1680 men against Sighvatr and Sturla. The victory did not mean the end of the civil war, however; only the role-players changed: Kolbeinn and Gizurr now gained the ascendancy.¹⁰

Most of the leading chieftains in the Sturlung age, for instance Þórðr kakali, Gizurr and Þorgils, were members of the *hirð* of the Norwegian king.¹¹ As the disputes increased, Norwegian support became increasingly important to them. This support came from special messengers of the king, merchants who represented the king, and also bishops, who were all Norwegians after 1237 until the end of the Commonwealth. Snorri supported Earl Skúli in his rebellion against the king in Norway, expecting to become Skúli's earl in Iceland, but Skúli was defeated. His treason resulted in his death at the hands of the king's men in 1240. Offended that Snorri had left Iceland without his permission, Hákon sent Gizurr Þorvaldsson a

¹⁰ As Gjerset (1924: 180) remarks:

...the victory at Örlygsstaðir had only substituted new tyrants for the old. Kolbein Ungi and Gizur Thorvaldsson had overthrown Sighvat and Sturla only to seize all power and lord it over their neighbors with an equally arrogant pride. Henceforth the selfish and calculating Gizur began to play the rôle of Sturla. In his efforts to lay all Iceland at his feet he used even more heartless and unscrupulous methods than his ambitious predecessors.

¹¹ For a discussion of this influence on events in Iceland during the Sturlung Age, see Jóhannesson (1948: 116–136).

letter offering him a choice: bring Snorri back to Norway, or kill him. Gizurr knew that Snorri would never return to Norway, so late in 1241 he set out with seventy of his followers and a larger force in reserve. He eventually tricked a priest into revealing Snorri's whereabouts and Snorri was brutally stabbed to death. His death was evidence of the King's growing involvement in the affairs of Iceland and the king's power was now well established (Nordal 1992: 2): the chieftains who became the most powerful at this time, the Sturlungs Þórðr kakali and Þorgils skarði, and Gizurr Þorvaldsson, were all the king's men. The power struggle between these chieftains was one of the main characteristics of the Sturlung Age. The dominant leaders (*stórgoðar* or *stórhöfðingjar*) were in the process of forming a new social class and began to aspire to a new kind of regional control in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Þórðr kakali and Þorgils skarði died in 1256 and 1258 respectively. Gizurr Þorvaldsson, the only chieftain capable of subjecting the country to the king, seems initially to have been reluctant, but was eventually forced to do so when the king reduced his power and threatened to reduce it even further.¹²

By the mid-thirteenth century Iceland had become fertile ground for the expansionist policies of the Norwegian king. By 1255 the farmers, especially those in the north, had tired of war and feuding. They saw the evils they had to suffer

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Of Gizurr, Sveinsson (1953: 3) says that his life

...is a profound tragedy. ...[A]gainst his will he is driven out into the maelstrom, and his intelligence and energy are such that when it comes to the test he manages to outwit and outlast most of his opponents. He suffers grievous losses; his wife and sons die in a fire set by his enemies; his heart dies; he learns to meet force with force, guile with guile. Driven ever farther before the current of the age, he is at last inextricably caught in Hákon's net; to him falls the lot of delivering his country's freedom into the hands of a foreign power.

because of the chieftains, and they began to question the whole system which the rule of these leaders represented (Sveinsson 1953: 16). Aided by Norway's archbishop, the king offered the Icelanders a stable alternative to the turmoil caused by the quarrels of the powerful *stórgoðar* (Byock 1990: 75) and in a series of local assemblies in 1262–1264 the Icelanders accepted the offer. They saw submission to the Norwegian crown as a means of release from an unbearable political and social situation; it promised hope for peace, security and prosperity. The old desire for independence had lost its force in the long years of civil strife and patriotism had fallen into disrepute (Bætke 1967: 13–14). The conditions of the agreement were set forth in the *Gamli sáttmáli* (the Old Covenant), which guaranteed that in return the king would let the Icelanders enjoy peace and the Icelandic laws. Their cultural focus, the elaborate laws which provided guidelines for virtually all aspects of social life, were still trusted to provide the balances, but the foreign power, the king of Norway, would henceforth have to provide the direly needed checks of an executive power. (For a general survey of the period, see, apart from *Sturlunga saga* itself and parts of *Biskupa sögur*, also Heusler 1912, Gjerset 1924, Sveinsson 1953, Bætke 1967: 3–34, McGrew and Thomas 1970: 23–31, Jóhannesson 1974.)

Some characteristics of the Sturlung Age
evident in *Svínfellinga saga*¹³

In the Sturlung age, the visible processes of feud had undergone many changes. What sets this age apart from the Saga age are the larger dimensions of all aspects of feuding which prevail in the latter period. The old private feuds have taken on the character of civil war, the attitudes and behaviour of men towards adversaries have changed: the old warrior ethic has disappeared. An examination of *Svínfellinga saga* shows it to embody many of these changes.¹⁴

In the Icelandic legal system, the *goði* needed a strong following and powerful friends in order to exact retribution or execute the sentences awarded him by the *alþingi* or regional courts. In the Sturlung Age the bodies of men riding to the *þing* or *alþing* in support of individual *goðar* get bigger as the powerplay becomes more violent.¹⁵ Thus, in *Svínfellinga saga*, Sæmundr Ormsson is said never to have fewer than fifteen attendants or *fylgðarmenn*. He rides to the attack on Ögmundr at Kirkjubær with a body of eighty men.

¹³ A paper based on this section was delivered at the combined Unisa Medieval Association/Southern African Society of Medieval and Renaissance Studies international conference in Pretoria on 7 April 1994 and subsequently published in the conference proceedings, entitled "'Tis all in peeces, all cohaerance gone." Change and Medieval and Renaissance Studies.'

¹⁴ Heusler (1912) documents these changes systematically.

¹⁵ *Sturlunga saga*, of which *Svínfellinga saga* forms a small part, is the primary source about the Sturlung age, describing the events of the period, especially the fights that took place after 1235. In comparison with the Saga Age, the chieftains' troops were large, 1 200–1 400 men in each troop, but losses were small in comparison. Only about 350 men fell or were killed in the period 1208–1260 out of a total Icelandic population of 50 000–60 000. Mutilations were common, especially the cutting off of hands and feet, as was plundering, especially of cattle.

This support base was acquired a) through marriage (such as Snorri's and his daughter's marriages, and Sæmundr's marriage to the daughter of Sturla Sighvatsson, which aligned him with the powerful Sturlung family), and b) through alliances of kinship and friendship. During the conflict between Sæmundr and his uncle, Sæmundr arranges a feast to enlist the support of, *inter alia*, his brother Guðmundr and Ögmundr's friend Egill skyrhnakkr. At the feast the brothers are locked in conversation. In the end Sæmundr gives Guðmundr a good horse – an echo of the old custom of reciprocity embodied in gift-giving to strengthen alliances. That a brother has to canvas actively the support of his younger sibling is significant: during this period of social and moral decline, the bonds of kinship strain and break. Conflict flares up repeatedly between the Ormssons and their uncle Ögmundr, until Ögmundr eventually orchestrates the execution of both brothers. Bonds of kinship through marriage, *mægð*, were never comparable with the strength of the bonds of bloodbrotherhood (Heusler 1912: 35).¹⁶

Within the clan of the *Svínfellingar*, Ögmundr's wife Steinunn is unlike many Sturlung-age women: like Freawaru in *Beowulf*, she is a peace-weaver. She prays for all the parties in the hope that peace will be maintained during her lifetime. This happens, of course, but the minute she is buried, hostilities flare up and run their inexorable course.¹⁷

¹⁶ He arrives at the following conclusion about the conflict between the brothers and their aunt's husband:

...dass zwischen den Ormssöhnen und Ögmund, dem manne ihrer Vatersschwester, wiederholt grimmige Fehde ausbricht, bis endlich Ögmund die Neffen abschlachten lässt: diese Vorkommnisse werden nicht als widernatürliche *ættvig*, Sippefehden, empfunden, und Entsprechendes zwischen den nächsten Blutsfreunden, würde man vergeblich suchen.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the role of women in *Sturlunga saga*, see also Sigfússon (1942: 305–15).

Indicative of how the bonds of loyalty are strained, Ögmundr's support comes from Sæmundr's *goðorð*, so that the latter has to confront these *þingmenn* on the assumption that they are guilty of an uprising against him. He offers them a choice: they could either swear him an oath of allegiance or *trúnaðareiða*, a new concept not previously known in Icelandic law (Heusler 1912: 52), or he would confiscate their property or maim them. In this case, of course, the oath of allegiance becomes almost like an 'Untertaneneid'. Such cases are confined to the last two years of the Commonwealth, exhibiting 'die jüngeren Anschauungen von der Machstellung der regierenden Herren auf Island' (Heusler 1912: 53).

One of two exceptional instances in *Sturlunga* saga indicative of change occurs in *Svínfellinga* saga and has to do with *sjálfðæmi*, 'the right to judge in one's own case', a well-known means of settlement in the Old Icelandic Commonwealth. In the case between Þorvarðr Þórarinnsson and Sæmundr Ormsson recorded in the interpolation (lines 284–309),¹⁸ the two factions decide that they will cast lots to determine who will have the right of judgement (Heusler 1912: 45).

In the Icelandic legal system there were two ways in which the complainant could get satisfaction in his suit: a) reconciliation, the peaceful settlement which involved a fine or lesser outlawry, and b) bringing the suit before the *alþingi*, thus publicly declaring the intention to continue the enmity, but in another way, enlisting the help of the community in the execution of the sentence. The case is thus not abandoned, but continued in a different manner in which the guilty party is outlawed. Of the forty such cases mentioned in the *Sturlunga* collection, thirty-six culminate in a sentence of full outlawry. One of these is the case of Ögmundr. His

¹⁸ Line numbers refer to the text of this edition.

two accomplices, Árne and Þorsteinn, are outlawed for life. In the interpolation, Filippus and Haraldr Sæmundarson are also outlawed, but the period is not specified. Finally, after the death of the two sons of Ormr, Ögmundr is sentenced to exile from the district, *heraðssekþ*, and is not allowed to remain in the district longer than three days unless he enters the monastery at Þykkvabær. Proportionately, the number of cases ending in exile increases during the Sturlung period.

The ways in which retribution was exacted were also gradually changing during this period. In the Saga age (c. 930-1030), killing an antagonist happened ^{mostly} ~~only~~ in combat or in battle. A measure of the savagery, the cold, calculated henchmanship in the escalation of violence characteristic of the feuds of the Sturlung age is the custom of capturing antagonists and then dispatching them with measured deliberation (Heusler 1912: 41). When the Ormssons are ambushed and caught, Sæmundr is told unceremoniously: ‘Þú skalt deyja, ... ok svá Guðmundr, bróðir þinn’ (lines 437–38). Later, when it comes to Sæmundr’s younger brother, Ögmundr’s response to Guðmundr’s plea for the gift of life is evidence that he does not consider himself to have a choice, but has to kill the brother of the man he has slain:

‘Gott væri enn at lifa, ok vilda ek gríð.’
 ‘Eigi megum vér þat, fóstri.’ Ok var hann þá rauðr sem blóð.¹⁹
 (lines 471–73)

Bystanders or subordinates of the instigators of such brutal acts are often forced to perpetrate savagery: the bloody axe used to kill Sæmundr is thrust into the

¹⁹ The necessity for killing the second brother, expressed in eddaic wisdom and quoted by Heusler (1912: 33), is appropriate in this context:

...vertrau niemals den Gelübden des Sprösslings deiner Feinde, ob du nun sein Brudertöter seist oder ihm den Vater gefällt habest! und die Mahnung der Vögel an Jung Sigurd: der ist nicht klug, der den einen Bruder entkommen lässt, wenn er den andern des Lebens beraubt hat (Sigrdrífumál 35, Fáfnismál 36).

hands of Þorsteinn hrakauga, a neutral bystander, with the order to kill Guðmundr. The emotional blunting and callousness arising from a spiral of unfettered violence are evident in the subsequent reaction of Sigmundr Ögmundarson, who is about eleven years old: ‘Gör þú, Þorsteinn, þat, sem þeir vilja’. When the first blow fails, Brandr Guðmundarson gropes into the wound to find out how deep it is, and then Þorsteinn has to be threatened before he delivers the final blow (lines 481–510).

A concomitant feature of Sturlung-age feud is the maiming of the captive, especially the chopping off of feet or hands, to exact revenge as a form of private punishment (Heusler 1912: 41). In *Svínfellinga saga* (lines 515–40), Ögmundr rides immediately after the killing of the two brothers to Svartr Loptsson, who had urged his party to pursue the brothers. Svartr is seized and asks for quarter. Eventually he offers monetary compensation or going abroad and remaining there while Ögmundr is still alive. He receives no mercy: his hand is lopped off. The exchange between him and Ögmundr displays the dry, laconic style of saga narrative which contains the underlying brutality.²⁰ Once again it is a bystander who has to commit the deed. Árne gullskeggr is ordered to cut off Svartr’s hand, but is unwilling to do so; however, he has no choice. Sveinsson (1953: 72–73) suggests that ‘once the enemy is in their power, most shrink from doing him harm. Men may be forced to obey harsh necessity, the consequences of the quarrels of the chieftains and of their relationship to them, but magnanimity, *drengskapr*, is ever near at hand’. All these instances of violence, appalling as they are, are symptomatic of a general moral decline in an age

²⁰ About the objective saga style Gehl (1937: 22–23) says the following :
 ... die inneren Vorgänge können nur in der Schilderung der äusseren (die dadurch inneren oft einen besonderen Symbolwert erhalten) suggestiv fassbar gemacht werden.

of mounting public conflict and civil war, in which men are caught up in spite of themselves.

Congruent with the influence of individual chieftains evident in the above examples, the leader and instigator of a misdeed often received a lighter sentence than his accomplices (Heusler 1912: 26). After the inhuman execution of the two Ormssons, three of Ögmundr's accomplices are exiled and have to leave Iceland, whereas Ögmundr himself pays damages for the lives of the brothers and for Svartr's hand and is not allowed to stay in the district for more than three nights unless he enters the monastery at Þykkvabær.

In such violent and passionate times the sanctity of the church was not always respected (Jóhannesson 1974: 66). In *Svínfellinga saga*, the Norwegian Fjárgarðr and Sæmundr Ormsson argue over pursuing Ögmundr's men, who have sought sanctuary in the church at Kirkjubær, and the Norwegian is all for breaking into the church.

Unlike the Family sagas, which deal with a pagan age where the Christian faith is hardly ever an integral part of things, *Sturlunga saga* shows church ritual widely practised (Heusler 1912: 12–13); however, the idea that revenge and Christian faith contradict each other has not generally taken root. In *Svínfellinga saga*, such an unusual blend of revenge and faith occurs at the climax of the conflict (lines 439–58): the brothers ask to see a priest before they are decapitated. They are shriven, receive communion and derive strength from their religious rites. The brutal incongruity of the incident does not seem to affect their henchmen. Confession, absolution, penance and prayer have a large part in *Sturlunga saga*; yet actions and ideals are driven by selfish considerations. The emphasis on death-scenes, repentance and the last rites in the narrative 'seems to show that the need to die at

peace with God was a conventional idea upheld in thirteenth-century Iceland (Nordal 1992: 10);²¹ however, Christianity did not bring about a change in people's thoughts and sensibilities, even though it had shattered the old pagan heroic ethos and brought about a moral depression with devastating consequences (Bætke 1967: 8–9).²²

Another example of the influence of the Church in the conduct of feud is the pilgrimage to Rome undertaken by Gizurr for absolution: **Gizurr fékk þá lausn allra mála sinna** (lines 617–8). Heusler (1912: 15) makes the point that the 'höchsten Triumph erlebt die Banngewalt darin, dass diese eigenwillige isländischen Granden eine Romfahrt antreten ... um von dem Kirchenhaupte die **lausn allra sinna mála** ... zu erlangen'.

Any discussion of the structures of feud in early Iceland would be incomplete without a consideration of advocacy, a custom which assisted reconciliation, maintained the balance of power and provided an important source of revenue for the chieftains. Farmers and chieftains often needed more assistance than the legal machinery afforded them in settling their disputes. Some prominent brokers of reconciliation mentioned in the sagas are the chieftains Snorri goði, Jón Loptsson, Guðmundr dýri and, of course, Njál Þorgeirsson. During the Sturlung age, it became common to trust a **goði** from another quarter to arbitrate in a suit. Thus

²¹ Besides confession, there were all the other means provided by the Church: they crossed themselves, said prayers, sang hymns, lay down with their arms stretched out in the shape of a cross. These acts made death easier, and there are many examples of beautiful deaths according to the Christian manner, like that of Guðmundr Ormsson when he was beheaded at Kirkjubær: he bowed down to the earth smiling and asking God to help him (Sveinsson 1953: 76–77).

²² 'Die alten Werte sind unsicher geworden und die neuen sind noch nicht ein innerer Besitz; so taumelt man von einem Extrem in das andere.' (Gehl 1937: 153)

Þórðr kakali becomes the arbitrator in the case between the Ormssons and Ögmundr (lines 247–68). The comment of the saga-writer after the event, *ok þótti mönnum, hann hafa lítt skilisk við málin þeira Ormssona ok Ögmundar* (lines 257–58), an obvious instance of litotes or ironic understatement to cast a slur on Þórðr's intentions, seems to confirm one of the themes of the entire *Sturlunga* compilation, namely that reconciliation remains an almost impossible ideal.

Indeed, the compiler of *Sturlunga saga* shows that conflict is cyclical and reconciliation ephemeral – almost unattainable. Thus the attempts of Abbot Brandr Jónsson and the women, Alfheiðr and Steinunn, achieve only a temporary reconciliation in *Svínfellinga saga*. In the end, the price is high: Sæmundr and Guðmundr have to lose their lives, Svartr his hand, and Ögmundr and his helpers are removed from the district into poverty before a measure of peace returns. For Iceland, the price for the excesses and power-struggles in this age is even higher – the loss of national sovereignty to Norway.

On a different, more literary level, another significant element in *Svínfellinga saga* evokes the larger movement towards change and suggests that the decline also permeated the cultural and literary endeavours of the Icelanders under Norwegian and European influences: on the last outing before the final confrontation between the Ormssons and their uncle, Sæmundr and his party are described in the style of chivalric romance influencing Norway at the time. The word *kurteis*, 'courtly', appears as an epithet for Sæmundr. This importation effectively signals the decline of the old heroic value of *drengskapr* which permeated the feud of the Saga Age. 'The spirit of the Commonwealth does not suddenly become extinguished, but it disintegrates.' (Sveinsson 1953: 36–42)

And so to conclude: the ideals of the old Icelandic Commonwealth embodied in the Family sagas – honour, loyalty to chieftain and kin, respect for the law as an

instrument for curbing violence and maintaining the balance of power, moderation – these values came under siege in the changing social, political and moral circumstances of the last years before the loss of independence to the Norwegian crown. **Svínfellinga saga** is a microcosm of this larger Icelandic macrocosm. We need to remember, however, that both the great Saga age and the Sturlung age come to us in sagas written during the turbulent thirteenth century. The Saga-age values are presented somewhat nostalgically in the Family sagas by anonymous authors writing in an age of moral and social decline and the eventual loss of national independence.²³ They honour the man of moderation, and their theme is reconciliation. **Sturlunga saga**, presenting the brutality of the chieftains' struggle for power, shows a cyclical pattern of violence where reconciliation is transient at most, and eventually unattainable without outside intervention.

²³ Critics generally agree that '...the Sagas of Icelanders were intended as moral exempla for the thirteenth century' (Schach 1984: 175). Thus Sveinsson (1953: 53) writes that '**Humanitas** is the core of the sagas written by the men of the Sturlung Age, interest in the life and fate of human beings, faith in the value of man and his virtues'. Elsewhere (75) he concludes that these sagas 'have their root in the virtues that were fighting for their existence, and are thus, as great literature so often is, a negation of the principal elements in the life and manners of their age. They represent men's attempts at creating out of the shrill discords of reality some degree of harmony in the world of art, without abnegating reality itself'. Einarsson (1957: 156) also emphasizes that the Family sagas are 'a flaming torch' of the ideals for which the men of the Sturlung Age were fighting: 'independence and greatness in the individual'.

The manuscripts²⁴

This section explains the rationale underpinning the production of this new edition, offers a brief survey of the history of and principles governing the editing of medieval texts, and discusses the various existing manuscripts which have been examined for this project.

The current edition of *Svínfellinga saga* produces, as closely as possible, the text preserved in BL Add. 11,127 and examines this text of the saga in relation to the other extant manuscripts and existing editions of *Sturlunga saga* in order to a) explore the nature of the differences between the I- and IIp-class texts of the saga (these classes will be discussed below), b) discover the rationale behind the selection, reorganization, abbreviation and addition of material, c) establish the effect of these processes on the impact the story has on the modern reader and d) present the saga to the modern reader who has limited knowledge of the history, language and culture of thirteenth-century Iceland. The manuscript preserves the best seventeenth-century paper copy of one of great fourteenth-century vellum manuscripts of *Sturlunga saga*. These copies have never been carefully examined in their own right and this edition, by making available the text of one saga in its seventeenth-century redaction, contributes to an understanding of the processes of manuscript copying and transmission as well as of language change from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

²⁴ This chapter formed the basis for a paper entitled 'The British text of *Svínfellinga saga* – bad copy or creative compilation?', delivered at the Ninth International Saga Conference in Akureyri, Iceland, in August 1994.

With the advent of medieval studies as an academic discipline in the second half of the nineteenth century, the priority was to make medieval literature available in printed form. It was believed that the only good medieval text was an edited one, established to recreate a lost medieval artefact from the evidence of its diverse surviving copies. This ideal inevitably led to an acceptance of the authority of the edited text, the 'stable' or 'stabilizable' artefact available to the interpreters and the critics (Trigg 1985: 15–22). Once this 'most original' text had been established from collating variants in the extant vellum manuscripts and paper copies, it was regarded, in New Critical terms, as a stable, self-contained and autonomous object (Trigg 1985: 50). Subsequently, it became the basis for translations, critical evaluations, interpretations and inter-disciplinary discussions.²⁵

Against this milieu, editors like Guðbrand Vigfusson (1878) and Kristian Kålund (1906–11) prepared their editions of *Sturlunga saga*, a compilation from ca 1300²⁶ of a number of independent works by different authors. Subsequent editors like Jóhannesson et al. (1946) established their text according to the groundwork done by Vigfusson and Kålund. The principal activity of these editors was to attempt a) the establishment of an 'accurate' text, thus arriving at a compound

²⁵ Ruthven (1983: 3–4) puts it this way:

In prior times, ere Theory began, texts were thought of as stable or at least stabilizable phenomena 'Establishing' the text, annotating its obscurities and 'introducing' it with observations on its biographical provenance, printing history and literary-historical context were activities which ... underpinned all worthwhile discourse. Afterwards, the text could be handed over safely to interpreters ... and to critics

²⁶ Jónsson (1924: 734) says 1290; Olsen (1902: 196), the first years of the fourteenth century.

version which does not preserve either of the original vellum texts,²⁷ b) the separation of the original constituent sagas, the dating of these and of the compilation together with their manuscripts,²⁸ and c) comment on and evaluation of material from **Sturlunga saga** as a source for the historian and the sociologist. While the work of these editors in making available a reliable text remains invaluable and the study of **Sturlunga saga** without their editions inconceivable,²⁹ contemporary contextual approaches have suggested that there are other questions to be asked of Old Norse texts.³⁰ Which version of the story is best, prior, original or most literary is not an appropriate question: a story consists of all its versions and variants. Tucker (1989: 19) makes the valuable observation about the Family sagas that they were apparently ‘conceived of as communal property’ and continues:

the versions contained in the different manuscripts do not always agree completely, and their differences cannot simply be explained in terms of corruption which the modern scholar can strip away to reveal some pure original form. Individual sagas were living, changing entities constituted not by any individual version, however good, but by the sum of all the versions.

This process is also identified by Lönnroth (1980: 57), who emphasizes the role of the audience in this process:

²⁷ I concur with Bragason (1986: 15) that ‘... the textual problems of **Sturlunga** are great because the vellum manuscripts are not well preserved and because of the mixing of their texts in the paper copies. ...[I]t is often difficult to know what has been in each of them and impossible to reconstruct fully the original text’. About Kålund’s text, for instance, Brown (1952b: 36) comments that the method of blending does not achieve his stated aim of preserving the sentence-structure and language of the original.

²⁸ Thus Vigfusson states the following about the text of **Sturlunga saga** (1878: cviii): ‘... the **Sturlunga** of the MSS., and still more of the paper copies, was in a terrible state of confusion, so that it had even become a by-word that “no one could remember the **Sturlunga**” It was as necessary to uncurl this tangle as it was to give a sound text, if the book was to be of any real use.’

²⁹ In fact, each new edition has increased our understanding of the nature of the compilation and of the inter-relatedness of the separate sagas.

³⁰ I am aware of the difficulties and ambiguities, in the post-structuralist era, underlying the term ‘text’. I use it somewhat loosely and conventionally, signifying both printed and written manuscript pages which make up the sagas.

Each saga may in fact be a collective product, representing the attempts of several generations of performers to present a traditional theme in a way that will engage a continuously changing audience.

I believe that this is the kind of process which shaped the different versions of **Sturlunga saga**. Furthermore, the origin of the elements of the story and their status as 'objective' history are irrelevant to an understanding of their relationships with one another (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 216–17). It is also doubtful whether more can usefully be discovered about the origin of the various elements of the Old Icelandic sagas without resorting to speculation. The individual extant texts should be studied as received and preserved artefacts in their own right, answering questions about the creative process of selection, reorganization, addition and compilation which shaped them and revealing something of the interests and concerns of their compilers. Saga studies should also focus on the effect of the formal narrative construction of the story on its auditors, readers, tellers, writers, and their culture and society (Durrenberger 1992: 23). The perspective and point of view of each individual text can illuminate the others and in this way the modern reader can approach a better understanding of the meaning of the individual sagas and their relationships with each other.

Ironically, and in contrast with the notion of the stable edited text, at the most obvious physical level medieval texts are not 'stable', 'self-contained' or 'autonomous' – they are notoriously unstable.³¹ A brief survey of the status of the

³¹ This is especially so in Iceland where damp, rot, smoke, dirt and the seventeenth-century bookbinders were the manuscripts' greatest enemies.

manuscripts of *Svínfellinga saga* will corroborate this view.³²

The saga is found only in manuscripts of *Sturlunga saga*, a compilation from ca 1300 of a number of independent works by different authors dealing with the last 150 years of the Icelandic Commonwealth. Parts of two fourteenth-century vellum manuscripts of *Sturlunga* survive: *Króksfjarðarbók* (AM 122a fol., conveniently called vellum I),³³ and *Reykjarfjarðarbók* (AM 122b fol., vellum II). When scholars first became interested in *Sturlunga* in the seventeenth century,³⁴ the original manuscript had been lost but these two vellum copies were more or less complete. Fortunately, both were copied on paper before they were badly damaged later in the seventeenth century, and before Árni Magnússon acquired them in about 1700. It is in this state that they are now to be found in the Árni Magnússon Manuscript Institute in Reykjavík.

Króksfjarðarbók (referred to as B by Vígfússon; designated I by Kålund, thus retained by subsequent editors) was named by Kålund after Króksfjörður, near Reykjahólar, the Icelandic district where, according to marginal notes in the manuscript, it was probably kept in the fifteenth century. It is the earliest extant vellum manuscript of the *Sturlunga* collection, probably written in the 1360s (Karlsson 1967: 47),³⁵ and it probably originally consisted of 141 leaves (Benediktsson 1958: 9).³⁶ Of these, 110 remain and some of them are only

³² For full details of the information summarized here, see for instance Vigfusson (1878: I clxxi–clxxix), Kålund (1901; 1906–11: I i–lxxiv), Jóhannesson *et al.* (1946: vii–xxi, xliii–xlvi), Brown (1952a: lü–lxii), Einarsdóttir (1968: 44–63), Bragason (1986: 11–24), Thorsson (1988: xci–xcvii).

³³ This is Kålund's designation, followed by most later editors and commentators.

³⁴ Vigfusson (1878: cxi) says that the two extant vellum 'copies' were unearthed and copied c. 1640.

³⁵ Vigfusson (1878: clxxiii) puts the date at about 1320.

³⁶ This facsimile edition has a comprehensive discussion of the manuscript at the time of the preparation of the facsimile in 1958. Vigfusson (1878: clxxii) concludes that the MS would have held 144 leaves in its complete state.

fragments. Eight leaves have probably been lost at the beginning of the book, including the greater part of **Porgils Saga ok Hafliða** (Brown 1952a: liii). Of significance for the editor of **Svínfellinga saga**, which starts on fol. 95r, is that the second column of fol. 94 was originally left blank and that folio 95 starts with a new gathering. This could be an indication that the beginning of the saga, as it now appears on folio 95r, is intact and that nothing has been lost. This is also where the second hand resumes the work after an interruption from leaf 69 and continues to the end. Since there is no clear indication of the exact place of the opening of the saga in BL Add. 11,127, the text used as the basis for this edition, this information can be used to establish the saga's beginning. It is for this reason that the current edition starts the text here. Vigfusson concludes that 'Cod. A must have been a very fine vellum, accurately and carefully written, so that even the copies are wonderfully correct in the many names of persons (c. 4 000) and places (c. 2 000) which occur in the book.'

Reykjarfjarðarbók (called A by Vígfússon and II by Kålund and later editors) was named by Kålund after the place where its last owner lived and where, in his youth, it was read by Björn of Skarðsá (born 1574). He copied it at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was later in the possession of Gísli Jónsson (died 1679) of Reykjarfjörður in Strandir. The manuscript was spoilt through neglect and taken out of its binding in the late seventeenth century. Presumably written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century (Benediktsson 1972: 356), **Reykjarfjarðarbók** probably originally contained about 180 leaves or more;³⁷ sadly, only thirty leaves or fragments of varying shapes and sizes remain, including scraps used for binding

³⁷ Vigfusson (1878: clxxiv) takes it to be of c. 1350 and suggests that it must have contained about 170 leaves.

printed books and even one sheet used as a dressmaker's pattern. No traces of *Svínfellinga saga* are to be found on these leaves.

Several paper copies of these vellums exist, some from the seventeenth century and others not older than the first half of the nineteenth century (Bragason 1986:12). According to the vellum text used as a master copy by their scribes, they are designated as **Ip** or **Iip**.

Unfortunately, no good copy of **I** exists. The earliest extant copy of **I**, AM 114 fol., was made by Jón Gissurarson (d. 1648) in Dýrafjörður before 1645 (Benediktsson 1958: 16).³⁸ Jón had **II** beside him while he worked and often used it without mentioning the fact. Jón was 'an industrious, though not always an accurate, copyist of old manuscripts' (Benediktsson 1958: 16). He also 'arbitrarily omitted or paraphrased parts of the text, and often misunderstood it' (Brown 1952a: liv). In the last part of the text Jón followed the text of **II** to a large extent, possibly because this redaction is much fuller than **I** (Benediktsson 1958: 17). From this copy (AM 114 fol.) and AM 437–438 4to, which is based on AM 114 fol. but has some parts directly from **I**, a large number of paper manuscripts (**Ip**) are derived. For the purposes of this study, new photographs of AM 114 fol. were acquired from the Árnammagnæan Institute in Reykjavík and examined, specifically to determine the extent to which the text of *Svínfellinga saga* follows that of the **Iip**-class regarding additions to and omissions from the text of **I**.

Manuscript **II** was copied by Björn Jónsson (1574-1655) of Skarðsá in Skagafjörður in the north of Iceland early in the seventeenth century (c. 1635) for Bishop Þorlákr Skúlason. According to Benediktsson (1958: 17), Björn was a 'self-

³⁸ Kålund (1901: 268) assumes that the copy was made in about 1630 but Benediktsson maintains that this cannot be proved.

educated and prodigiously industrious farmer-antiquary'. This original transcript by Björn (**Sk**) has been lost, but manuscripts descended from it show that it was an accurate copy of **II** in which Björn had made numerous marginal notes. After he had begun copying **II**, he acquired **I**, but he does not appear to have combined the texts in an arbitrary way.

Björn Jónsson of Skarðsá also wrote, in about 1646, an annotated chronological abridgement of **Sturlunga** (AM 439 4to). His manuscript was carefully restored and bound in 1970 and consists of 143 pages and two title pages. The beginning of **Svínfellinga saga** is indicated in a marginal note at the bottom of p. 228. Many of the annotations correspond to the marginal notes in manuscripts descended from **Sk**. For the purposes of this study, new photographs were obtained from the Arnamagnæan Institute in Reykjavík. In the discussion of the text adopted for this edition of **Svínfellinga saga** it will become apparent that **439** is useful for an evaluation of the unity of the text of **Br**.

Three closely related manuscripts descended from **Sk** still exist:

1. British Library Add. 11,127 fol. (**Br**), written at Oddi, c. 1696. This is a well- and carefully written manuscript, preserving many of Björn's marginal notes. It has been well preserved and carefully repaired, although these repairs, especially at the centre binding, often make the text and the marginal notes difficult to read. The original pages must have been a few millimetres larger, because parts of some of the notes have been cut off.³⁹ The margins are generally quite dirty and stained. The ink is mostly clear and the writing clearly legible, although very small. In the case of

³⁹ Many of these notes correspond with those in **439** but probably derive from **Sk**, their common original (Brown 1952a: lv). Vigfusson (1878: clxvii–clxviii) prints some of them from **439**. They include 'etymologies', '**varia**', 'literary historical notices', 'patriotic, **laudator temporis acti**' and '**geographica**, touching on Biorn's native place, Skagafiord'.

Svínfellinga, part of the text is obscured at the top left-hand corner of fol. 150v. There are numerous alterations in a different hand, but **Svínfellinga** is not greatly affected. Vigfusson adopts some of these alterations as if they were the original. The **Sturlunga saga** proper is to be found on ff. 1-198, followed by **Árna saga biskups** and two Family Sagas. It is this manuscript which has been used as the basis of the current edition. Initial transcription was done from microfilm and the manuscript was subsequently examined at first hand to establish the final text.⁴⁰

2. Royal Library of Stockholm pap. 8, 4to (H), written about 1650. There are virtually no marginal notes (none of Björn Jónsson's) in this manuscript and only two in **Svínfellinga saga**. The manuscript is undamaged and apparently untouched by later corrections. The scribe's distinctive tendency to abbreviate (noted by Vigfusson 1878: lix; Brown 1952a: lv) will be commented upon in the text, where appropriate. **Svínfellinga saga** starts on p. 637 (page numbers are in a later hand than the text) with the heading 'Saga af Sæmundi og Guðmundi Ormssonum & Ögmundi Helga-syni'. After the text of **Svínfellinga saga** pages 658, 659 and 660 are numbered but have been left blank. **Saga af Þorgils skarði** is the new heading on p. 661. Initial work for the current edition was done from photocopies. These transcripts were subsequently verified by a first-hand examination of the text.

3. AM 440, 4to (440), written about 1656, in the north of Iceland; now defective, containing only the first third of **Sturlunga**.

A fourth manuscript, Adv. MS. 21.3.17 (V), related to **Br**, was written for Eyjólf Jónsson of Vellir (1670-1745) by Thorsteinn Kætilsson (Summary Catalogue

⁴⁰ Vigfusson (1878: ccix) asserts that the 'state of Icelandic MSS is such that it forbids a compound text: and the only plan for an editor to work on is to take the best MS., and form his edition on that, correcting errors from other MSS'.

1971: 123) and is now in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.⁴¹ The text is derived from **Br**, a **Ip** manuscript and one other unknown copy (Jóhannesson 1946, II: xiv–xv). Although not of much value in establishing the original text, it is occasionally useful for corroborating factual detail. **Svínfellinga saga** starts on p. 473 (folio no. 237 of 327), Chapter CCCXVII, with the heading ‘Pattur Ormssuna’. For the purposes of this study the transcription of the text was initially done from photographs; thereafter, the manuscript was examined at first hand.

As mentioned above, a version of **Svínfellinga saga** occurs in **I**; no traces of it are to be found in **II**. Any study of the text of **II** therefore has to be based on the two main paper copies (**Iip**) described above: a) British Library Add. 11,127 fol. (**Br**, c. 1696, the main object of this investigation) and b) Royal Library of Stockholm pap. 8, 4to (**H**, c. 1650), corroborated by AM 439 4to.

The relationship of the various manuscripts can be represented schematically, as follows:

⁴¹ In 1812, and subsequent years, a considerable number of Icelandic manuscripts were purchased for this library from Arngrímur Thorkelin. These covered a wide range of history, law and literature, but only a few (in contrast with the collection made a century earlier by Árni Magnússon) are of any age or importance (Cadell and Matheson 1989: 129).

URTEXT

I

KRÓKSFJARÐARBÓK

(AM 122a fol.)

PAPER COPIES:

AM 114 fol.

Several others

II

REYKJARFJARÐARBÓK

(AM122b fol.)

PAPER COPIES:

Sk – lost copy by

Björn Jónsson

AM 439 4to – summary of

Sk by Björn Jónsson

BL Add. 11,127 (Br) – the

text for this edition

Pap. 8 4to (H) – copy

of Br

Adv Ms 2.1.317 (V) – copy

of Br + a Ip + another Ms

The instability of the text of **Br**, which seems to preserve the best representative of the original text of **II**, has thus become apparent: it is three times removed from **II** and has been through a series of editorial choices and decisions affecting its shape and content.

Svínfellinga saga has been edited seven times as part of the **Sturlunga** compilation (see Brágason 1986: 13–14; Tranter 1987: 11–12) but has never been represented reliably. This is the first independent, self-contained edition. The existing editions are:

1. Íslenskt bókmenntafélag, Copenhagen, 1817–20, 4 vols. The text was based on several paper copies, especially Vallabók.
2. Guðbrandr Vigfússon, Oxford, 1878, 2 vols. This edition, based principally on **II** and **Br** but with many variants from **I**, contains many inaccuracies which will be commented on in the Textual Notes.
3. Kristian Kålund, Copenhagen, 1906–11, 2 vols. Kålund based his edition on **I**, filling in gaps from **II** and **IIp**, but had only limited access to **Br**. He printed, in smaller type, everything not traceable to **I** and clearly indicated what was derived from each source. Kålund's edition, by including all variants of the story in this manner, remains truest to both versions of the text. He also translated the text into Danish (1904).
4. Björn Bjarnarson and Benedikt Sveinsson, Reykjavík, 1908–15, 4 vols. Largely based on Kålund's text, this popular edition made some use of **I** and **II** and their paper copies.
5. Jón Jóhannesson, Magnús Finnbogason, Kristján Eldjárn, Reykjavík, 1946. This version is based mainly on Kålund's text, with some refinements based on more recent findings.

6. Guðni Jónsson, Reykjavík, 1948, a popular edition based on the textual principles of the two former Reykjavík editions.
7. Örnólfur Thorsson (General Editor), Reykjavík, 1988. This excellent edition with regularized spelling follows basically the same textual principles as the 1946 edition. Extensive and invaluable apparatus is contained in Volume III.

In the case of **Svínfellinga saga**, these editors changed the texts of the various manuscripts to fit their preconceived notions of what the shape of a ‘proper’ separate saga should be. Thus Vigfusson excluded a long section first identified by Ólsen (1897: 365–71) from **Br**, because he believed that it did not belong to the saga, while Jóhannesson et al. produced an even more eclectic text, conflating the versions of **I** and **IIp** but also omitting the interpolations in **Br** and relegating them to other chapters in **Íslendinga saga**, where they logically followed the chronology, and in one case to an addendum. The text of their edition has subsequently been used as the basis of two translations into English:

1. Julia McGrew and George R. Thomas, New York, 1970–74, 2 vols. **Svínfellinga saga** occurs on pp. 325–43.
2. Richard Ringler, Austin, 1972. This is a research paper on **Svínfellinga saga** which includes a translation on pp. 14–29.

A careful examination of the **Br** text of **Svínfellinga saga** is fraught with problems: there is no consensus in the extant manuscripts about its beginning or end, there is a long interpolation thought to belong to one or two other sagas, and there are many stylistic, factual and lexical differences between the two main texts. Yet such a study provides insight into the principles on which this particular text was compiled, offers some explanation for the presence of the interpolations and textual variants in the light of these principles and gives some idea of its status as either an unreliable copy of the original or a creative compilation in its own right.

The relationship between the texts
of *Svínfellinga saga* in I and in Br

Previous research has suggested that I and II were abridged versions of an earlier original and that II was fuller than I.⁴² A physical word-count confirms the *Svínfellinga* text of Br to be longer than that of I, the latter being only about seventy percent of the length of the former. However, this is misleading because of the inclusion of a long interpolation not found in I and an added section at the end. A close comparison of the two texts reveals that Br rushes on, abbreviating the story substantially up to the climax, where it broadens out to dwell in horror on the slaying of Guðmundr and the mutilation of Svartr. Thus Jóhannesson's text follows I initially but uses Br for the latter stages. A brief comparison of some parts of the two texts will reveal the nature and the effect of their differences.

The tendency to abbreviate sets Br off to a bad start and initially seems due to carelessness rather than careful planning, causing ambiguities in the chronology of events. Thus, for instance, the omission of *En þrím vetrum síðar fór útan Heinrekr biskup Kársson ok Þórðr kakali* in the first paragraph creates the impression that all the listed events took place in one year, 1247, whereas the time-span is actually three years, from 1247 to 1250. The effective telescoping of time and place which brings all the main families to the region of the conflict, but identified by

⁴² Vigfusson (1878: clxxiv) concluded that besides the omission of *Þorgils saga*, I bears the character of an abridgement, while Kålund saw II as a later expansion. Brown (1952b: 33–40) found that the text of II was the more satisfactory for *Þorgils saga ok Hafliða*, as did Simpson and Hare for *Prestssaga Guðmundar góða* and *Guðmundar saga dýra* (1960: 196). After comparing the texts to the annals, Einarisdóttir concluded that both I and II are abridged versions of the original text (1968: 44–80).

Jóhannesson et al. as indicative of the inaccuracy of the text (1946: xlv), loses some of its impact in the process of abridgement. Later, when the reconciliation, facilitated by Bishop Brandr, between Ögmundr and Sæmundr is related, the brevity of **Br** changes the sense somewhat. It is debatable, of course, whether such inconsistencies constitute ‘errors’ if they follow the internal structural logic of the text.

An obvious difference between the two texts which immediately establishes the copyist of **Br** as an individualist with a separate agenda is the many instances of inverted word order. Such accidental differences are common in manuscript copying, of course, and the seventeenth-century copyists seem to have been particularly free in their approach to the task in hand,⁴³ but the inversions are particularly prominent in **Br** and often have a significant impact on the meaning. A few examples will suffice:

Br: Halldóra Arnórsdóttir var móðir hans (line 9)
I: Hans móðir var Halldóra Árnorsdóttir

Br: Sæmundr varð reiðr við þetta (line 58)
I: Sæmundr varð við þetta reiðr mjök

Sometimes, as in the following example, the inversion foregrounds issues or characters. Here, the focus is on Sæmundr, the person Ögmundr and Þórðr are discussing:

Br: Þótt Sæmundr sé mægðr við mik (lines 181–82)
I: Ok þótt ek sé mægðr við Sæmund

Other kinds of omission include: adjectival phrases stating personal attributes of characters in the story, the omission of which causes a slight focal shift: **ríkr ok góðgjarn** (line 8, of Brandr Ormsson, TN 8), **góðr bóndi** (line 23, of Guðmundr

⁴³ I am grateful to Prof. Desmond Slay for this information.

Þorsteinsson, TN 23); genealogical information, sometimes due to carelessness, such as the omission of Guðmundr gríss from the list of Digr-Helgi's sons (line 19), but sometimes with the effect of focusing more sharply on the main protagonists, for instance the omission of Helgi Loptsson's daughters (line 26) for a sharper focus on Svartr, Helgi's brother.

Lexical differences are of two types: obvious misreadings or omissions from a common original, for instance **þingi** for **alþingi** (line 33), or the use of synonyms or different words according to the scribe's own preference, for instance **fjölraett** 'much talked about' (line 98) for **alltíðraett** 'very much talked about'. These differences in the lexis could be a result of language change from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century and the language of the manuscript needs to be carefully examined to ascertain the extent of such change. However, the lexical differences between the two texts also have stylistic significance. For instance, a focal shift on the portrayal of the character of Snorri sveimr is achieved by **Br**'s use of **lítillsháttar** 'lowly, of little consideration' (line 30), where **I** has **lítill bóndi** 'no great farmer'. Later, when Hafr-Teit detains Móðólfr djákni by the arm, **Br** states that he **hefr upp hamarinn ok lýstr á hálsinn, svá at Teitr lét þegar laust** (lines 162–63). The use of **hálsinn** in **Br** is possibly a scribal error. It is plausible that Móðólfr would aim at the arm (**handlegginn**, as in **I**) which is detaining him in order to secure his release and get away. Another instance of this kind, where one word changes the meaning considerably, occurs at the moment of Sæmundr's death: **Br** states **Árni hjó þá á hálsinn, svá at [öxin] stóð í herðunum** (lines 457–58). This means that the head is not completely severed from the body. For **herðunum**, **I** uses **sandinum**, making the blow much more violent as the head is taken off completely and the axe bites into the sand.

Sometimes a shift in perspective is achieved by the syntax. In the following instance, the scene in which Helgi læknir comes to the sick Ormr, the syntax produces a different effect:

- Br: Þá kom til hans Helgi læknir, er þá bjó á Másstöðum (line 34)
 I: Hann lét senda í buð eftir Helga lækni, er bjó á Másstöðum í Vatnsdal.

A slightly different relationship between Helgi and Ormr is implied: *hann lét senda ...*(I) implies a more authoritative action by Ormr, whereas *þá kom til hans ...* indicates a friendly gesture towards Ormr on the part of the physician.

Stylistically, the more compact, terse manner of Br, almost in the nature of a *précis*, produces a faster-moving narrative stripped of all detail which could slow down the pace, as the following examples will show:

- Br: Ormr Jónsson bjó at Svínafelli (line 11)
 I: Ormr Jónsson reð fyrir á bæ þeim, er at Svínafelli heitir.
- Br: Egill hét maðr, skyrhnakkr. Hann bjó í Mörtungu (line 31)
 I: Egill hét maðr, er bjó í Mörtungu; hann var kallaðr skyrhnakkr
- Br: Ragnheiðr hét kona hans (lines 31–32)
 I: Hann átti þá kona, er Ragnheiðr hét
- Br: Þá kom til hans Helgi læknir, er þá bjó á Másstöðum (line 34)
 I: Hann lét senda í buð eftir Helga lækni, er bjó á Másstöðum í Vatnsdal
- Br: Hann kvað eigi myndi göra atgördir lines (34–35)
 I: Hann kom til ok sagði at honum syndizt svá meinit, sem eigi mundi tja atgördir at hafa

An interesting instance of abbreviation in Br occurs at line 70:

- Br: Síðan riðr Egill til Kirkjubæjar, ok segir Ögmundi til hvar komit var. Ögmundr görðr þar ekki at, en býðr Agli með sér at vera. Egill þakkar honum boðit ok lézk lengr þar myndi vera en með Sæmundi. (lines 70–72)
 I: Þegar Sæmundr er í brottu riðr Egill í Kirkjubæjar, ok segir Ögmundi til svábuins. Ögmundr görðr þar ekki at, en býðr Agli at vera með sér. Egill þakkar honum boðit ok segir, at hann mundi þar lengrum vera enn með Sæmundi.

In this case the version of I, *þegar Sæmundr er í brottu*, suggests a sense of urgency and tension in Egill's action not matched in Br.

The tight syntax and lexical economy of **Br** create a greater sense of tension and immediacy throughout, further enhanced by an even greater use of direct speech than in **I**:⁴⁴

- Br:** Guðmundr bað hana eigi þess biðja, at hann færi eigi með bróður sínum, ‘mun ek eigi þá meira virða, er halda réttindum fyrir honum.’ (lines 110–12)
- I:** En hann svarar henni heldr styggliga, ok kveðsk svá aldrs kominn, at hann mundi sjalfr ráða ferðum sínum.
- Br:** Fjárgarðr Austmaðr mælti, sá var með þeim bræðrum, ‘göngum at þeim ok látum eigi kirkju standa fyrir þeim.’ (lines 154–55)
- I:** Þá tok til orða Fjárgarðr Austmaðr, er í ferð var með þeim bræðrum, bað þá at ganga ok láta eigi kirkju standa fyrir þeim.

This device of compression is especially forceful at the climax, when Sæmundr realizes that he is going to be killed. **I**’s version is subtly, almost drily, euphemistic compared to the bland brutality of **Br**:

- Br:** Ögmundr mælti: ‘Þú skalt deyja,’ segir hann, ‘ok svá Guðmundr, bróðir þinn.’ (lines 437–38)
- I:** Ögmundr segir at Sæmundr skyldi þá ekki lengi kunna at segja fra tíðindum.

Such choices, which seem to indicate the copyist’s bias and narrative point of view and offer implicit comment on characters and events, are significant for discovering the underlying procedural rationale of his text. After the scene between Ormr and Helgi læknir quoted above, **Br** adds the following sentence: **Þat segja sumir menn, at Ögmundr Helgason tæki Ormi blóð þar á þinginu á gjósæðinni, ok síðan felldi sóttina at honum** (lines 35–37). This assertion, which is not made in **I**, suggests that people blamed Ögmundr Helgason for Ormr’s illness and adds a significant implicit comment on the role of Ögmundr in the subsequent events when his overbearing manner leads to the conflict between him and the Ormssons, eventually culminating

⁴⁴ Basing their comments on an examination of the printed editions, several scholars have referred to the high concentration of direct speech in the saga (for instance Ringler 1972: 11).

in their slaying.⁴⁵ Another passage which seems to cast aspersions on Ögmundr's motives after the death of Ormr makes explicit the fact that Ögmundr invited Guðmundr to live with him and Steinunn, his father's sister, as a foster son: ... Ögmundr bauð Guðmundi heim til fósturs til Steinunnar, föðursystur sinnar. Sæmundr tók þar fé Guðmundar í [kirkjufé], en Ögmundr varðveitti [annat] fé Guðmundar. Þá var Guðmundr sjau vetra, er faðir hans andaðist. Þat fannst brátt á, er Ormr var frá kallaðr, at Ögmundr hélt sér vel fram um héraðsstjórn, ok görðusk margar greinir með þeim Sæmundi (lines 48–53). Furthermore, the inclusion of this last sentence in Br a) provides the first indication of the impending clashes between Ögmundr and Sæmundr, b) makes an explicit comment on the belligerent behaviour of the former and c) establishes an effective transition to the next section, which deals with the clash about Höskuldr, a tenant of Ögmundr's. An addition which emphasizes the prominent peace-weaving function of Steinunn, Ögmundr's wife, in

⁴⁵ This adds a different perspective to the view expressed by Byock (1982: 272) about Ögmundr. In discussing the necessity of killing an **ójafnaðarmaðr** when his behaviour threatened others in the community, Byock concludes as follows:

In *Svínfellinga saga* (ch. 11), Ögmundr Helgason ambushes and kills Sæmundr Ormsson and his brother Guðmundr in a long-running conflict. Ögmundr is a powerful and popular farmer, whereas Sæmundr is an extremely overbearing **goði**. Ögmundr lets Abbot Brandr decide the case (ch 14). A fine is levied on Ögmundr, and he must either go into the monastery at Þykkvabær or leave the district of Síða, both relatively light punishments for killing a chieftain. He chooses to leave the district.

Heusler (1912: 26) sees Ögmundr's lighter sentence as an example of the fact that the socially more important leader or instigator of a misdeed often received a lighter sentence than his inferior accomplices:

Nachdem Ögmund die hinterlistige und unmenschliche Exekution der zwei Ormssöhne bewirkt hat, erkennt ihm der fromme Abt Brand als Schiedsrichter Bussen und Gauverweisung zu, während drei seiner Helfer und Werkzeuge das Land räumen müssen, und zwar Jón, der Sohn des Ögmund, nur auf drei Jahre, die beiden andern auf Lebenszeit, darunter einer, der nur gezwungen das Henkersbeil geführt hat!

Br, is ‘...görið fyrir guðs sakir ok nauðsyn yðra, at þér aukið eigi vandræði við frændr mína.’ (lines 126–27)

The suspense thus far created is sustained in Br by the following section, not found in I: *Ábóti hét at leggja til sammings með þeim, en það Ögmund eigi halda vini sína til rangra hluta með ofkappi, því at þess er ván, at Sæmundr vili þat eigi hafa, hvárki af yðr né öðrum mönnum.*’ (lines 77–79) The conciliatory role of Abbot Brandr Jónsson, the Ormssons’ uncle, seems tenuous as he expresses his apprehension about the reaction of Sæmundr. This uneasiness is subsequently reinforced by the words ... *Sæmundr var ofsamaðr mikill ok óeirinn ok görði at því engan manna mun, en Ögmundr var ótillátsamr ok átti mikit undir sér* (lines 81–83), which also appear in I but have greater impact in this context. Later, Br includes several lines relating the visit of Egill skyrhnakkr, one of Ögmundr’s companions, to Sæmundr (lines 345–48). The compiler introduces him as a powerful man with a large company of followers, obviously a strong ally to have in any dispute. The narrator states that *Egill segir Sæmundi mörg vingjarnlig orð Ögmundar* (lines 347–48). This could represent an attempt to strengthen the newly-established truce between the feuding factions, but could also be an implicit slur on the intentions of Ögmundr and his followers.

As mentioned before, the narrative in Br is tight, fast-moving, even brutal at times, but at the moment of Guðmundr’s slaying, the pace slackens, portraying the full horror of the event:

Br: *Gekk Þorsteinn þá at með reidda öxina. Hann hjó til Guðmundar, ok kom höggit þar er mættisk hálsinn ok herðarnar, ok sneiddi mjök út á herðarblaðit. Var þat allmikit sár. Gekk sú hyrnan miklu lengra niðr, er út vissi á herðarnar ok á öxlina* (lines 495–98).... *Þá gekk at Guðmundr Brandr Guðmundarson ok tók hendi sinni ofan í sárit ok vildi vita, hversu djúpt var, ok leitaði með fingrunum. Síðan mælti hann við Ögmund ok Jón, son hans: ‘Eigi vilið þér Guðmund feigan, ef ekki skal meira at vinna.’* (lines 501–04)

- I: Gekk þá Þorsteinn með reidda öxina at Guðmundr Þorsteinn hjó á halsinn við herðarblaðit mikit haug Þá gekk at Brandr Guðmundarson ok þreifaði ofan í halssárit ok mælti, kvað þá eigi vilja Guðmund feigan, ef þeir gerði eigi at meira.

A detailed comparison of the two texts at a point where they seem to differ considerably (lines 88-153) will show all the processes of transformation at work (to facilitate reading, spelling has been normalized and punctuation and paragraphing added):

Br. Ábóti reið heim af þinginu, ok þótti hann þá sem jafnan, sér hinn bezta hlut af deila þar er hann var staddr.

En Sæmundr reið norðr til Þórðar Sighvatssonar í Geldingaholt ok bað Ingunnar Sturludóttur, bróðurdóttur hans, ok var honum gípt. Þórðr bað Sæmundi eigi leggja hlut sinn fyrir Ögmundi, kvað hann hvárki skorta fjölmenni né mægðir.

Síðan ríðr Sæmundr heim til Svínafells með konu sína. Ok þegar hann kom heim, býr þar veizlu ok býðr þangat Guðmundi, bróður sínum, ór Kirkjubæ.

Guðmundr kom til veizlunnar ok með honum Egill skyrhnakkr. Þeim bræðrum varð fjölrætt um veizluna ok vissu menn óglöggt hvat þeir töluðu.

Guðmundr reið heim af veizlunni í Kirkjubæ. Sæmundr gaf honum hest góðan. Nú er hann í Kirkjubæ, þat er eptir var sumars. Um haustit beiðir Guðmundr Ögmund brottferðar, ok vill hafa fé sitt með sér. Ögmundr tók því seinliga, ok vill þó eigi banna honum brottferðina. Steinunn húsfreyja bað Ögmund vel leysa Guðmund af hendi. Ögmundr greiddi Guðmundi innstæðu þess fjár, sem hann tók við, sem var til hundrað hundraða.

Fór Guðmundr með þetta efni til Sæmundar. Sitja þeir um kyrt fram yfir jól.

Eptir jól dró Sæmundr lið saman ok fór með átta tigu manna í Kirkjubæ. Ok um morgininn er þeir ætluðu at fara, bað Álfheiðr, móðir Guðmundar, at hann færi eigi þessa ferð með Sæmundi fyrir þá sæmð ok velgörninga, er Ögmundr hafði honum veitta. Guðmundr bað hana eigi þess biðja, at hann færi eigi með bróður sínum, 'mun ek eigi þá meira virða, er halda réttindum fyrir honum.' Álfheiðr bað hann ganga til litlustofu með sér ok göra klæðaskipti. Ok er hann klæddisk, gengr hon í brott ór stofunni ok rekr fyrir lás. Ok er hann verðr þessa viss, brýtr hann frá hurðina ok komsk út.

Þá vóru þeir Sæmundr búnir ok ríðu á Kirkjubæ. Þetta var um nóttina eptir Pálmessu.

Illugi Guðmundarson var þar bryti. Bergljót hét kona hans. Þau vóru at soðningu í eldahúsi um nóttina ok Þorvaldr feni. Rakki var í eldhúsinu. Hann spratt upp ok gó. Illugi sér út ok ferr upp á húsin. Hann sér, at hundrinn horfir norðr af húsinum. Hann heyrir þá mannamál ok kennir þá skjótt mál þeira bræðra Sæmundar ok Guðmundar.

I: Af þinginu ríða þeir ábóti heim ok þótti þá sem jafnan at Brandr ábóti hafði sér enn bezta hlut af deildan.

En Sæmundr reið norðr með Þórði Sighvatssyni í Geldingaholt ok bað Ingunnar Sturludóttur ok hon var honum gípt. Þórðr segir Sæmundi at hann vill at hann leggi hvergi sinn hlut fyrir Ögmundi, kvað hvárki til skortafjölmenni né mægðir.

Nú ríðr Sæmundr heim til Svínafells með konu sína. Ok þegar hann kemr heim byrr hann til veizlu ok býðr þangat Guðmundi, bróður sínum, ór Kirkjubæ.

Guðmundr segir at hann man koma. En Steinunn husfreyja, fódursystir hans, bað hann eigi fara. En Guðmundr reið þó til veizlunnar ok með honum Egill skyrhnakkr. Um veizluna var þeim bræðrum alltförætt ok vissu menn óglöggt hvat þeir töluðu.

En er slitit var veizlunni, reið Guðmundr heim í Kirkjubæ ok gaf Sæmundr honum einn hest. Nú er hann í Kirkjubæ þat, er eptir var sumars. En um haustit beiðir Guðmundr Ögmund brottferðar ok hann vill hafa brott með sér fé sitt. En Ögmundr tok því sienliga en kveðst þó eigi vilja banna honum brottferðina. Steinunn husfreyja bað Ögmund vel leysa Guðmund af hendi ok svá gerði Ögmundr, at hann gallt Guðmund til hundrað hundraða. Ferr hann við þetta efni til Sæmundar.

Eptir jól um vetrinn dregr Sæmundr at sér lið. Hann fekk nær átta tigu manna ok ferr við þetta lið í Kirkjubæ. Ok um morgininn er þeir ætluðu at fara, bað Álfheiðr húsfreyja, móðir Guðmundar, at hann færi eigi þessa ferð með Sæmund fyrir þá sæmð ok velgörninga er Ögmundr hafði honum veitta. En hann svarar henni heldr styggliga ok kveðsk svá aldrs kominn, at hann mundi sjálfr ráða ferðum sínum. Hon kvað hann þó eigi mundu fara svá búinn, ok bað hann ganga með sér til litlustofu ok göra klæðaskipti. Ok er hann klæddist, gengr hon brott af stofunni ok rekr fyrir lás. Ok er hann verðr þessa varr, tekr hann einn stein, er hann fann í stofunni, ok brýtr frá hurðina ok komst út eptir þat.

Þeir Sæmundr váru þá búnir ok ríðu við þetta lið í Kirkjubæ. Þetta var um nóttina eptir Pálmessu.

En sa maðr var á staðnum, er Pall/Illugi [not clear] hét ok var Guðmundarson, hann var bryti. Hann átti þá konu, er Bergljót hét. Þau vóru úti í eldahúsi um nótt at soðningu ok sá maðr með þeim,

Illugi gengr í skála ok segir bónda, at menn fóru at bænum, 'ok má vera at eigi sé með góðum hug til þeira, er fyrir eru.'

Ögmundr mælti, hverir munu þeir vera. Steinunn svarar, húsfreyja: 'Þat þykkjumk ek görla vita, at Sæmundr munu vera fyrir flokki þessum, ok görið fyrir guðs sakir ok nauðsyn yðra, at þér aukið eigi vandræði við frændr mína.'

Þeir klæddusk skjótt. Ögmundr bóndi tekr mörg spjót, ok berr út til kirkju, ok allir heimamenn hans gengu með vápnum til kirkju. Vóru þar fimm tigr vígra karla, er Ögmundi þótti vápnfært. Ögmundr ok Pétur Grímsson gengu í stöpuldyrr, en í aðrar stöpuldyrr gekk Jón karl ok Snorri sveimr. Þeir létu horfa út spjotsoddana.

En í þessu hleypa þeir Sæmundr á hlaðit, ok kalla, at þeir skyldu hlaupa fyrir dyrrin, ok svá fyrir þær, er norðan vóru á húsinum. 'Gangið nú inn sköruliga,' segir Sæmundr, 'ok [látid] þá enga viðtöku fá.'

Þá mælti Ögmundr: 'Ef þér vilið nökkura menn finna, þá gangið þik út til kirkjunnar, því at húsin eru auð af mönnum.'

Þá svarar engi, ok hlaupa allir senn ofan til kirkjunnar, ok slógu hring um hana ok brugðu sverðunum.

Ögmundr heilsar þeim báðum bræðrum. Þeir tóku seinliga ok spurðu, hví þeir væri í kirkjunni. Ögmundr kvað vart hafa orðit við ferð þeira ok þótti þeir láta eigi friðliga, 'en ef þér vilið með öðru efni fara, þá skal hér heimil gisting [vera].'

Sæmundr svarar: 'Eigi munum vér hér mat eta at sinni, en þess biðr ek, at þú gangir brott af kirkjunni.' Ögmundr kveðsk eigi mundi ganga út, fyrr en lýsti, kvaðsk þá mundi göra sem honum líkaði.

Þá mælti Guðmundr: 'Hvat muntu þá meira kost undir þér eiga, þótt lýst nú af degi?'

Ögmundr svarar: 'Þat ætlaða ek aldri, fóstri minn, at þú myndir slíkum orðum mæla, sem nú heyrir ek.'

'Ekki mun nú farit at því, hverja virðing þú leggr á,' segir Guðmundr, 'því at þú vilt vera fullkominn úvin okkar bræðra ok launar illa þann velgörning, er faðir minn veitti þér.'

er Þorvaldr hét ok kallaðr feni. Rakki lá á eldhúsinu. Hann spratt upp ok gó. Illugi bað Þorvald forvitnast, at hverju hann gó. Hann gengr ok ferr upp á húsin ok sér ar hundrinn horfir norðr af húsinum. Hann heyrir þá manna málit ok þekkir skjótt mál þeira bræðra Sæmundar ok Guðmundar. Þorvaldr gerði ekki vart við sik, ok gekk heim skjótt ok inn í skála at rúmi bónda, ok segir at menn fóru at bænum, 'ok eigi raðit, at með goðum vilja sé þeim, er her eru fyrir'.

Ögmundr spurði, hvárt hann vissi nökkut af, hverir vera myndi. Steinunn húsfreyja svarar: 'Eigi þarf ek lengi at geta til, þeir munu vera frændr mínir, Sæmundr ok Guðmundr.'

Ögmundr stendr upp þegar ok tekr brynjur nökkurar tíu, er hengu fyrir rúmi þeira, ok kastar eptir setjunum ok bað menn upp standa. Þeir kleddusk skjótt, því at ljós brann hverja nótt. Ögmundr bóndi tekr mörg spjót er bundin váru í kerfi ok berr út til kirkju ok þeir menn aðrir, er fyrir váru gengu til kirkju með vápnum. Ok er bóndi kemr í kirkjuna, telr hann liðit, ok váru þar fimm tigr vígra karla þat er honum þótti vápnfært. Síðan gengr Ögmundr með vápnum ok með honum Pétur Grímsson. Þeir ganga í stöpulinn út en í aðrar stöpuldyrr gekk Jón karl ok Snorri sveimr. Þeir létu út horfa spjotsoddana.

Ok í þessu hleypa þeir Sæmundr á hlaðit ok menn hans ok kallar Sæmundr at þeir skyldu hlaupa fyrir dyrrin, svá furir þær dyrr er norðan vóru á húsinum. 'Gangið nú inn sköruliga,' segir hann, 'ok latið þá nú enga viðtöku fá.'

Þá mælti Ögmundr: 'Ef þér vilið nökkura menn finna, þá gangið hingat til kirkjunnar, því at húsin eru auð af mönnum.'

Þeir svöruðu engu ok hlaupa allir senn ofan til kirkjunnar ok í kirkjugarðinn ok slógu hring up kirkjunna ok brugðu sverðunum.

Ögmundr bondi heilsar þeim báðum bræðrum Sæmundi ok Guðmundi. Þeir tóku því seinliga ok spurðu, hví þeir væri í kirkjunni. Ögmundr kvað vart hafa orðit við ferð þeira ok þeir láta ekki friðliga, 'en ef þér vilið fara með öðru efni, þá skal hér heimil gisting vera.'

Sæmundr kvaðst ekki hafa ætlat þar mat at eta, 'en þess biðr ek, at þú gangir brott af kirkjunni.' Ögmundr kveðsk eigi mundi út ganga, fyrr en lýsti, kvaðsk þá mundi göra sem honum líkaði.

Þá mælti Guðmundr: 'Hvat muntu þá eiga undir þér meira kost, þótt lýsi af degi?'

Ögmundur svarar: 'Þat ætlaða ek aldri, at þú myndir slíkum orðum mæla, fóstri, sem nú heyri ek.'

'Ekki man nú farit at því, hverja virðing þú leggr á.'

'Vera ma, at svá sé,' segir Ögmundur, 'en mæla munu þat sumir menn, at ek væra annarra orða eigi ómakligri frá þér.'

'Svá skildi ok vera,' segir Guðmundr, 'ef þú hefðir eigi fyrri valdit upphöfum, ok fullkomnum fjandskap við okkr bræðr, þar sem faðir okkarr veitti þér þat upphald, at þú munt aldri fá svá góðu launat, þótt þú leitaðir við þat, sem þú skyldir, en eigi með vélum ok prettum, sem þú ert nú sannprófaðr at.'

Apart from the inversions in word order and other accidentals in this section, for instance differences in tense (**kom** versus **kemr**, **fór** versus **ferr**), the text of **Br** represents a summary or précis of that presented in **I**. The effect is twofold: stylistic and factual. Stylistically, the impact of the shorter version is more immediate and striking. For instance, **Br**'s version, **Guðmundr reið heim af veizlunni í Kirkjubæ** (line 99), is more economical, moves faster and has more immediate impact than the longer version in **I**: **En er slitit var veizlunni, reið Guðmundr heim**. The sentence **Eptir jól - Kirkjubæ** (line 107-08) is another instance where **Br** is much more compressed and matter-of-fact than **I**. Another stylistic effect is the heightening of the sense of immediate verbal confrontation in **Br** by the use of direct speech throughout this exchange.

Substantively, the process of abbreviation at times leads to an alteration of the meaning. For instance, the omission, in **Br**, of the line relating Steinunn's request that Guðmundr should not go with his brother, seems to reduce the importance of Steinunn's role in trying to keep the brothers out of trouble with Ögmundr and thus to maintain the peace. However, this omission is balanced by the addition in **Br** of **ok görið – frændr mína**, which in its turn accentuates the role of Steinunn as peaceweaver. **Br**'s omission of the words **En hann svarar henni heldr styggliga** somewhat alters the relationship between Guðmundr and his mother. **Br** is also more concerned with the fact of his escape than with the method he uses. In another instance **Br**'s abbreviated version, **Illugi Guðmundarson var – hverir munu þeir vera** (lines 117–24), although more compact and rapid, heightening the dramatic tension, leads to the omission of the name of Þorvaldr as the person who gets up onto the house to see what the dog is barking at and then goes into the farmhouse to warn Ögmundr of the approaching party. In **I**, Ögmundr's preparation for the confrontation at the church also includes taking ten mailcoats and waking the men in his household. In **Br**, the focus is on their hurried dressing and moving out to the church. The phrase **allir heimamenn hans** (**Br**, line 129) indicates the men of his household, whereas **þeir menn aðrir, er fyrir váru** (**I**) suggests that all the men who were at home with Ögmundr at the time joined him in the fight. **Br** omits Ögmundr's pause inside the church to count his forces and it seems as if he assessed his men outside the church before they entered the church doors. The sections omitted in **Br** include finer detail not necessary for the progress of the action.

An interesting example of a shift in lexis also occurs in this section. The difference between **Br** (**fjölrætt**) and **I** (**alltiðrætt**) makes virtually no difference in the meaning and could represent a change in the language from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth.

The drastic reduction in **Br** of the paragraph **Vera ma - sannprófaðr at** does not seem to be coherent with the foregrounding elsewhere of the causal role of Ögmundr in the conflict between the brothers and their uncle. Here, an important aspect of that role is given less prominence, namely Ögmundr's betrayal of his indebtedness to the memory of Ormr, his brother-in-law and the brothers' father. It is on these grounds that the brothers consider themselves entitled to attack Ögmundr.

An indication of the **Br** text's concern with the wider political and social context of this small regional saga about local events in the lives of one family, the Svínfellings, is the inclusion, in contrast with **I**, of temporal references, for instance **Þat haust var veginn Snorri hinn fróði í Reykjaholti** (line 47), which not only provide a chronological framework for events, but also place the saga against the wider backdrop of Icelandic history. I believe that this could be one of the reasons for the presence of the interpolation in **Br** (and **IIp** generally). The business at hand was not only to record the saga of the Svínfellings, but also to give an account of the larger sweep of events in the country as a whole. It is this last objective which led to the insertion of the five sections, identified by Kålund and numbered from **a** to **e** (see TN 201).

In the edition of Jóhannesson et al., where all extraneous material has been omitted, *Svínfellinga saga* is exceptional for its concentration on the strife between Sæmundr Ormsson and his uncle Ögmundr in the years 1248–52.⁴⁶ To the modern

⁴⁶ This feature has been recognized, *inter alia*, by Jóhannesson et al. (1946: xliii–xliv), Ringler (1972: 11) and Bragason (1986: 61–63), who comment on the single-minded exclusion of any extraneous matter to focus on a single chain of events.

reader it therefore seems strange that the compiler of **Br** should have interrupted the narrative with the inclusion of material which Vigfusson (1878: 80, n4) found ‘inserted in the midst of the *Svínfellinga saga*, where they break off the context’.⁴⁷ Significantly, in his abridgement of *Sturlunga* (AM 439 4to), Björn Jónsson (the first copyist of **II**) retains these sections virtually verbatim, whereas he otherwise condenses the saga quite drastically.⁴⁸ The copyist of **I** may have decided to omit these sections, although they were part of the original text of *Sturlunga saga*. Alternatively, at least two other possible reasons for the presence of these sections in **Br** present themselves: the writer of **II** could have expanded the generally regarded abbreviated text of **I**, especially composing the ‘interpolation’ or including it from other sources, or he could have used a different master text. In the case of *Svínfellinga*, the latter seems likely. Apart from the already mentioned interpolation, there are also factual differences between **IIp** and **I** in the text which are difficult to reconcile with scribal inaccuracy or abridgement. For the purposes of this discussion it is relevant to examine the connection between these interspersed sections and their context in **Br**, as well as the implications of their placement in the text.

The following narrative scheme is based on those of Andersson (1967: 4-29), Bragason (1986: 61–62) and Byock (1982: x), showing that *Svínfellinga saga*, as it

⁴⁷ Vigfusson places sections b, c, and d before *Svínfellinga saga* (chapter 215 in his edition) as chapters 212, 213 and 214, and e directly after a. In Jóhannesson et al., a, b, d and e are printed as chapters 159 – 162 in the *Íslendinga saga*, while c occurs as Addendum II, 5. Thorsson (1988: 933–936) relegates these sections to the end of the edition, entitled ‘*Brot*’, with the following explanation: ‘*Eftirfarandi þættir eru aðeins varðveittir í eftirritum Reykjarfjarðarbókar. Þeir koma í handritum á eftir 364. kafla Sturlunga sögu*’.

⁴⁸ Simpson and Hare (1960: 196) also comment on this phenomenon in 439, as does Brown (1952a: lv). I believe that Björn’s method provides a clue to the significance of the interpolation in **Br**’s version of *Svínfellinga*.

appears in the previous editions, follows the basic feud pattern. An analysis of the interspersed sections shows that each of them also contains all or most of the saga elements identified by the above scholars. The additions found in **Br** are printed in bold, following Ólson's dating (Kålund 1906–11: 116 n1):

NARRATIVE SCHEME

Svínfellinga saga (BL Add. 11,127)

INTRODUCTION

Presentation of the main characters: Brandr Jónsson, Ormr Jónsson and his sons, Ögmundr Helgason

CONFLICT

Ögmundr tries to garner more power
 Sæmundr and Ögmundr quarrel about a certain dependant
 Sæmundr intends to get Ögmundr sentenced at the alþingi
 Sæmundr influences Guðmundr and they attempt to attack Ögmundr but he escapes

a – (1250, lines 201-309) the dispute between the Ormssons and the sons of Þórarinn, supporters of Ögmundr; the matter is mediated by Þórðr kakali; Sæmundr claims the disputed goðorðs; the brothers and Sæmundr are reconciled; they take sides against him

b – (1249, lines 229-246) Þórðr kakali forces the Sæmundarsons to sail to Norway; Aron Hjörleifsson fails to plead Harald's case

c – (1250, lines 247-268) the feast at Grund and Þórðr kakali's distribution of authority over certain districts to his friends; Þórðr's departure for Norway

d – (1251, lines 269-283) the return of the Sæmundarsons from Norway and their drowning off Mýdalseyri

e – (1251, lines 284-309) the abduction of Guðmundr Ormsson by the Þórarinnssons, the settlement of the subsequent dispute and the slaying of Þorstein Tjörfason by Oddr Þórarinnsson

Sæmundr gets Ögmundr sentenced and takes his property away
 Brandr arranges peace between the adversaries

CLIMAX

Ögmundr has Sæmundr and Guðmundr executed

ADVOCACY, RECONCILIATION and RESOLUTION

Brandr settles this conflict
 Ögmundr has to pay wergild and leave the district

The AFTERMATH

Returning to the conflict between the Þórarinnssons and Hrani Koðránsson; Gizurr Þorvaldsson's return to Iceland; Hrafn and Sturla lead the attack on Gizurr (lines 565-673)

The inconsistent chronology and disjointed sequence of these sections seems to rule out the possibility that chronology was the only reason for their inclusion or ‘displacement’ here. Three other explanations are possible. First, these insertions present two feud strands interwoven with the main events of *Svínfellinga*: the one between the Þórarinnsons and the Ormssons, which highlights the breakdown of kinship and ends in the killing of Þorstein Tjörfason, and the other between Þórðr kakali and the Sæmundarsons, ending in their seemingly senseless drowning. Second, they are an expansion of the backdrop against which the main events of the saga are set, showing the links between the Ormssons and the Þórarinnsons, between them and Þórðr kakali, one of the main protagonists of the last years of the Commonwealth, and referring to the conflict between Þórðr, Hrafn Oddsson and Gizurr Þorvaldsson. In this way the saga is plummeted into the mainstream of Icelandic events hurtling towards the loss of independence. This makes the saga more than merely an interesting regional narrative. Finally, the insertions work by a kind of ‘logic of the imagination’ whereby they expand on the impression created by the entire Sturlunga compilation that, as Yeats puts it in ‘The Second Coming’, ‘Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;/ Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world’ (1982: 210). It is clear that the compilation concerns itself here not with the separateness of the individual sagas but with their inter-relatedness around a central theme – the events of the last years of the Sturlung age and their significance.⁴⁹

The above comparison shows that the **Br** version of *Svínfellinga* saga differs significantly from that of **I** in several ways: in respect of historical and substantial

⁴⁹ See also Sigurðsson (1933–35: 92–99) for a discussion of the interpolation.

data, there is a certain measure of carelessness and inaccuracy in **Br** as a result of the tendency to abbreviate; stylistically, the compilation displays an individual character evident in diction, word order, syntax, and discourse; narratologically, the selection and arrangement of material shifts the focus from individual motive to the climax of the feud between the main protagonists, while the additions to the feud sequence open up the perspective, linking the chain of events to other families and geographical regions and showing them in relation to the greater sweep of the final years of the Sturlung Age. The text effectively combines the methods of historical veracity and creative fiction.⁵⁰ The arrangement of the material seems to have an overall significance, making the combined whole more than merely the sum of its constituent parts (Tranter 1987: 7).

Even if there is evidence of careless scribal abbreviations and omissions which create ambiguities in the meaning and chronology, the text of **Svínfellinga saga**, as it appears in **Br**, is creative and individual, not merely a bad copy written by a sloppy scribe. It is with the idea of the ephemerality of true reconciliation in a period of continuous intensification of conflict that the compilation is concerned. It achieves a fast-moving, brutal and sometimes intensely poignant narrative, but could also be said to be a response to a particular political situation. It is one version of the story of the men of Svínafell which amply repays careful scrutiny, adding another dimension of meaning to a small saga in the great **Sturlunga** compilation.

50

It has become clear that medieval Icelanders made no clear distinction between the craft of compiler, author or scribe and did not perceive **veraldlegar samtiðarsögur** and **Íslendingasögur** as different genres but regarded both as historical literature (Bragason 1986: 7).

The creative compiler

Svínfellinga saga is found only in manuscripts of *Sturlunga Saga*, the title which has come to be accepted for the compilation from c. 1300¹ of a number of independent works dealing with events during the last one hundred and fifty years of the Icelandic Commonwealth. These independent sagas are by different and mostly anonymous authors, with the exception of *Prestssaga Guðmundar góða*,² and the most important of them, Sturla Þórðarson's *Íslendinga saga*, written in about 1260.³ *Svínfellinga saga* seems to have been incorporated into the collection more or less as it stood, without extensive revision (Jóhannesson et al. 1946: xliii), even though De Vries (1967: 312) comments that the saga is 'eigentlich nur ein Bruchstück'. The events related occur during the years 1248–1252 and are contemporary with Sturla Þórðarson.

Vigfusson (1878: civ) maintains that it was Þórðr Narfason, the Lawman of Skarð on Skarðsströnd, who, after Sturla Þórðarson's death, came into possession of

¹ Heusler (1912: 4) gives 1300; Jónsson (1924: 734) says 1290; Ólsen (1902: 196), the first years of the fourteenth century. About the compiler of the saga and the work of Sturla Þórðarson, see also Vigfusson (1878), Kálund (1906), Jóhannesson, Finnbogason and Eldjárn (1946), Brown (1952a), Bætke (1967) and Tranter (1987).

² Vigfusson argued persuasively (1858) that it must have been written by Lambkár Þorgilsson. Olsen showed on internal evidence that Þórðr Hitnesingr was probably the author of *Þorgils saga skarða*.

³ Heusler (1912: 5) suggests that about half the narratives in the collection were written by contemporaries of and participants in the events. In the other half, the compilation was further removed from the events related, but never longer than sixty years, so that 'die Söhne derer, die als Jünglinge die vorfälle mitanschauten, als gesetzte Männer die Feder führten'.

his (perhaps unfinished) manuscripts and compiled from them and other sources 'that *corpus historicum* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which now bears the name of *Sturlunga [saga]*'. Þórðr died on 12 May, 1308. As a youth he spent time with Sturla after the latter's return from Norway in 1271 and could have learnt a great deal from him about Iceland's recent history.⁴

Several writers have commented upon the ambiguities, tensions and paradoxes inherent in the *Sturlunga* era (for instance Bætke 1956: 82, Schach 1977: 381, Tranter 1987: 2). As mentioned before, it was a period of increasing unrest in which ever more people became embroiled in the feuds of a few powerful families. The traditional form of government seemed unable to contain this spiral, and eventually dissolved into anarchy. Ironically, Iceland finally submitted to the authority of the Norwegian king, an authority which the early settlers had refused to acknowledge. This age of increasing collapse in traditional legal, moral and social values was, paradoxically, also the age in which the greatest monuments of Icelandic literature had their origin: the Family Sagas and the poetic Edda. It is the history of this crucial period in Iceland's history that the compiler of *Sturlunga saga* chose to record.

The work provides a picture of Icelandic society during the age of saga-writing and as such has been regarded as a source for evaluating the Family Sagas (see, for instance, Thomas 1950: 50–66; Hallberg 1983: 3–28). As a 'contemporary saga' it relates the story of events that happened in the near past, and its author is therefore

⁴ Thus De Vries (1967, II: 313) makes the following point:

Aus dem Prolog bekommt man den Eindruck, das der Verfasser Sturla persönlich gekannt hat. Weil er über ihn als einen Gestorbenen spricht, stammt die Kompilation aus der Zeit nach 1284, warscheinlich aus dem letzten Jahrzehnt des 13. Jahrhunderts.

able to draw on his own experience or on fresh eyewitness accounts. Sturla Þorðarson, the author of the most important part of the compilation, *Íslendinga saga*, recedes into the background in the detached, objective style often associated with saga-writing. About the style of the compilation, Andersson (1978: 160) remarks: ‘...it is a sober record of current events, not an imaginative recreation of the past. ...One has the feeling that the author is too close to the events to invest them with a literary perspective’. Several attempts have been made to examine the rationale and the values according to which the compiler set about his task. When he combined the individual works in *Sturlunga saga*, he modified them in various ways: he arranged them chronologically and where two sagas dealt with the same events, abridged them or used the most exact one.⁵

ólson believed that the compiler’s scheme was to portray the events of the age chronologically, a point reiterated, amongst others, by Einarsson (1957: 152) and de Vries (1967, II: 308). This chronological approach possibly stems from ‘an ascendancy of the annal at the expense of the saga’ and the fact that the compilation was written in the period when the saga as a separate ‘genre’ was past its prime (Tranter 1987: 7). Contrary to the chronological coherence in the nature of the compilation, Bætke (1967: 29) finds no internal thematic coherence. The emphasis on chronology and historical veracity at the expense of creative, literary merit would imply that the work is inferior to the Family Sagas, and explain why *Sturlunga saga*

⁵ Byock (1990: 34) describes this process as follows:

...[the compiler] tended to respect the original wording of the sagas and left whole pieces of the older narratives intact. In general his emendations were restrained. This medieval historian shortened some of the originals, spliced together overlapping texts, added a number of transitions, and wrote a few of the shorter narratives. Modern scholars have spent years unraveling his chronological arrangement in order to reestablish the integrity of the separate sagas.

has traditionally been regarded as a valuable historical source, but has been neglected as a work of any literary merit in its own right. It is only recently, however, that the compilation has been approached as a work of literature (see, for instance, Bragason 1986: 29–36; Tranter 1987: 15). Hence Thomas (in McGrew and Thomas 1970: 37) recognizes the narrative qualities of the work and attributes them to the influence of Snorri's **Kings' sagas** (started around 1220), which represented 'the first attempt since Ari's day to unite in one work the excellences of the historian with the entertaining qualities of the storyteller'. **Sturlunga saga's** historical authority is questioned by Clover (in Clover and Lindow 1985: 255), who calls it 'suspiciously novelistic in tone' and 'suspiciously stylized in its presentation of certain actions'. Indeed, the distinction between history and literature dissolves because Sturla uses literary methods characteristic of the Family sagas, such as predictions and comment by wise men, especially his father, through dreams and supernatural happenings before critical events and also through references to public opinion (Nordal 1992: 6).

It is obvious that, although described as a compilation, **Sturlunga saga** is a continuous chronological prose narrative and that the compiler faced the enormous difficulty of knitting the individual elements of his source material together into a more or less homogeneous whole. It is the task of the individual reader to determine whether the overall purpose of the compilation is simply to provide a chronological record of events or whether, as Tranter suggests, there is a possibility that the individual units gain a significance in context over and above that of each individual work. In other words, the reader should look for an overall purpose or direction not evident in the source material.

Bragason (1986) attributes the differences in critical approaches to the family sagas and the contemporary sagas to three commonly-held assumptions which he

challenges in the course of his dissertation: that the modern dichotomy of history and fiction can be projected on these two kinds of sagas, that therefore the two kinds of sagas are different with respect to the subject matter and the treatment of the material, and that the contemporary sagas are principally documentary and the family sagas fictional. He concludes that the contemporary sagas share the same principles of selection and narration as the family sagas, that the thematic cohesion between the separate sagas is stressed by the compiler's principles of selection, addition and reorganization, and that the compilation is 'a powerful statement about the historical conditions in Iceland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that is, about the excesses of the chieftains and the consequent fall of the commonwealth'. Furthermore, he shows convincingly that the medieval Icelanders made no clear distinction between the craft of compiler, author or scribe and did not perceive *veraldlegar samtíðarsögur* and *Íslendingasögur* as different genres but regarded both as historical literature. As early as 1912, Heusler (5–7) hints at a similar possibility when he states that the 'geschichtliche Exaktheit' of the sagas in the compilation was not always the same: '... in der Arons saga, auch anderwärts hin und wieder, fühlt man eine leichte Annäherung an den Roman'. He still holds the view, though, that for the most part one could see the components of the compilation as 'glaubhafte historische Quellen'.⁶ In contrast to the Family Sagas, he finds the contemporary sagas filled with detail, often in the nature of a diary, 'planlos, nüchtern und seelenarm wie das Leben'. A closer look at *Svínfellinga saga* will show that it is

⁶ He continues that the Sturlunga narratives are
 ...historisch in anderm Sinne als die Familiengeschichten aus der Sagazeit: sie
 besitzen nicht nur die innere Wahrheit des kulturgeschichtlichen Bildes,
 sondern auch die Chronistengenaugkeit für das einzelne Faktum und
 Datum.

certainly exceptional in this regard, a phenomenon that Heusler also recognizes, stating that the individual sagas in the compilation have their own individual styles, although he concludes that in general the style is objective, 'parteilos'.

The question about the overall theme or significance of the compilation, the compiler's 'intention', is an intriguing one. At the end of his summary of *Íslendinga saga*, Vigfusson (1878: clxix) pauses to consider the 'real significance of the whole story' and concludes: 'the fall of the Commonwealth and the destruction of the old Houses is what it really means. ...[D]readful as were the disorders, unsettled as was the condition of the country, the sacrifice of the public life of the old days, with all the ennobling influences, was a high price, too high surely to pay even for peace'. Thomas (in McGrew and Thomas 1970: 45) sees *Íslendinga saga* as 'at once an *apologia* for the author and his countrymen and a homily –possibly, a parable cast in the most powerful of medieval forms, the *exemplum*'. The act of compilation can never be neutral or objective: the compiler 'gibt dem Erzählten eine bestimmte Fassung durch Auswahl, Mittel, Meinung. Er blickt von einem bestimmten Standort in einer bestimmten Richtung auf das entstehende Werk: Teleologie des literarischen Schaffens' (Gutenbrunner 1976: 267). This creative role of the compiler is examined by Tranter (1987: 2), who asserts that 'the act of compilation is not one of neutrality'. He sets out to discover the values according to which the compiler selected his material and concludes that the compilation shows '... a demonstration to the literate public as to how they should come to terms with the past and apply its lessons to the present'. To this end the causes and developments of conflicts during the Sturlung Age, underpinned always by the ethos of the feud, are shown. In order to give the old material new validity in an altered time, the compiler traces 'the idea of conflict and its resolution over a period of a century and

a half'. Tranter concludes that it is with the idea of reconciliation, increasingly difficult in a period of continuous intensification of conflict, that the compilation is concerned. He suggests that *Sturlunga saga* is, therefore, '...a didactic work, a response to a particular political situation, assembled in great haste, and nonetheless with surprising subtlety, by a compiler who well deserves the epithet "creative"'.

Steblin-Kamenskij (1975: 187–191) offers an important caveat in this regard, which should inform the approach of the modern reader. He points out that methods applied in the study of the Icelandic sagas, such as those for determining authorship, finding out what is deliberate fiction, discovering the ethical principles supposedly introduced into a saga by its author, are based on the 'identity hypothesis', which assumes that the psychology of 'medieval man' is identical with that of 'modern man' – and thus negates the necessity for such terms. It is good to be reminded that this is so, and that what the modern reader has from which to reconstruct the author's intentions are the medieval works themselves. The discovery of the effect of the saga has to move outward – from a study of the work itself to an examination of the moral, emotional, aesthetic and intellectual impact on the modern reader.

* * * * *

The author of *Svínfellinga saga* has not been identified, and will probably remain anonymous. Several critics assert that he seems intimately acquainted with the facts of the narrative but that the occasional mistake suggests that he was either careless or wrote so long after the events that his memory might sometimes fail him

(Jóhannesson 1946: 2, xlv–xlvi; Kristjánsson 1988: 199). Jóhannesson thinks that the saga was written around or shortly before 1300,⁷ about fifty years after the events it describes. The author shows a sympathy with the characters which could indicate his personal involvement in the events he narrates. Kirkjubær is the centre of the story and the author shows intimate knowledge of the place and its people (Jóhannesson 1946: xlv). The incidents which occur there are also described in much fuller detail than those which occur elsewhere in the story. ‘He sounds as if he is describing scenes and people he has himself known.’ (Ringler 1972: 12) It is good to remember, however, that the criteria most often applied by scholars in an attempt to identify individual authors, the ‘details of knowledge displayed in the particular saga, the viewpoints used and the narrative bias’, are often based on mere speculation (Brown 1952a: xiv, Bragason 1986: 23). One does not have to be an eyewitness to create a sense of immediacy and realism through narrative and descriptive skill. In fact, Bragason (1986) argues convincingly that the traditional approach to the contemporary sagas has disregarded their ‘novelistic qualities’ and often ‘considered fictional elements in the *Sturlunga* compilation as historical truth’. So the question about the identity of the author of *Svínfellinga* remains unanswered. An examination of the style of the saga shows, however, that this anonymous writer used narrative techniques characteristic of the more creative, ‘novelistic’ Family sagas.

As mentioned earlier, *Svínfellinga saga* focuses on the conflict between the sons of Ormr of Svínafell, Sæmundr and Guðmundr, and their uncle Ögmundr, the

⁷ Vigfusson (1878: clxxiii) puts the date at 1320, Einarsson (1957: 156) ‘towards 1300’, while De Vries (1967: 312) also suggests that the saga was written considerably later than the events of 1248–1252 which it relates. He mentions that Jónsson posits 1270–1280 as possible dates, whereas Olsen suggests 1304–1320.

husband of their father's sister, Steinunn. The following discussion is based on the text of the current edition of BL Add. 11,127.

The opening of the saga establishes its stylistic and substantive links with the family sagas: the reference to King Hákon Hákonarson and Cardinal Viljálmr is reminiscent of 'the practice of dating stories with Norwegian regnal allusions' and the *dramatis personae* shows the saga writers' 'fascination with genealogies' (Hume 1973: 594). In her discussion, Hume (600) concludes that the opening and closing material of the family sagas shows the following common concerns: 'distinction of kin and the placement of the conflict within the span of Icelandic history'. This discussion will show that the compiler-narrator of *Svínfellinga saga* shares these concerns. The opening genealogies serve another function, however: they telescope together many of the inhabitants of the area around Svínafell, even though they are not contemporaries, to give the events more historical resonance and to provide reliable genealogies that establish the credentials of the main protagonists.⁸

When Ormr Jónsson of Svínafell dies in 1241, Sæmundr inherits his father's *goðorð* and Ögmundr and Steinunn invite Ormr's younger son, Guðmundr, who is seven years old, to come into fostering with them at Kirkjubær, where Ögmundr is the warden. Soon after Ormr's death Ögmundr assumes a very dominating role in the district and several clashes arise between him and Sæmundr.

The first sign of trouble occurs regarding the maintenance of a pauper. Sæmundr and Ögmundr act and react in connection with the property of Ögmundr's

⁸ Ormr Jónsson died in 1241, Ormr's brother and the father of Þorvarðr and Oddr, Þórarinn, in 1239 and Digr-Helgi, Ögmundr's father, in 1235. Furthermore, *Helgi Loftsson bjó þá í Skál* (line 24) was no longer true at the time of the events: Helgi left Skál in 1242. Ormr Jónsson lived in Skál, not Svínafell, from 1236 until his death in 1241. See Jóhannesson (1946: xlv), who points out all the instances in which the facts presented in the saga are at variance with other sources.

tenant, Höskuldr. Sæmundr maintains that he has been unjustly dealt with and there is a note of foreboding in the conventional words *ok er nú kyrt um vetrinn*.

During the spring Sæmundr rides to Kirkjubær and issues Ögmundr a summons because he maintains that he has not received justice from Ögmundr regarding the case about Höskuldr. He then confiscates Snorri sveimr's property and divides that of Egill and Ragnheiðr. He rides away, taking Egill's share with him, telling Egill that he is welcome to stay at Svínafell whenever he wants to, an invitation to which Egill remains rather noncommittal. However, Egill rides to Kirkjubær without delay and tells Ögmundr what has happened. The latter invites Egill to stay with him. Egill's words, that he would rather stay there than with Sæmundr, are an indication of Ögmundr's popularity, which emerges clearly from the saga. While they are still talking, Snorri sveimr arrives to tell Ögmundr of his difficulties, and is also cordially received and reassured.

Abbot Brandr, abbot of the Augustinian house at Þykkvabær and the brother of Ormr and Steinunn, acts as the mediator in this saga and promises to arbitrate between Sæmundr and Ögmundr. He requests Ögmundr not to support his friends too zealously, because it is to be expected that Sæmundr will not tolerate intervention. The abbot disapproves of the confiscation, even though it may be considered legal. Sæmundr is an overbearing, intransigent man and Ögmundr is unyielding and very powerful and the abbot fears that more dissension may break out between them. It is clear from the start that the dispositions of the two men, combined with their quest for power and possessions, will make amicable relations between them difficult, if not impossible. Kristjánsson (1988: 199) asserts that Sæmundr seems to have been the chief cause of the trouble, and quotes from *Þórðar saga kakala* that Sæmundr Ormsson was 'rather pushing and thought to have the

makings of a great leader'. He continues: '[Sæmundr] cast envious eyes on Ögmundr's wealth and popularity: it was after all he, Sæmundr, who was born to command in that district and whose family *goðorð* gave him authority over Ögmundr's neighbours'. Two interpretations are possible here: either 'great' leaders are by definition a disruptive force in this community, or Kristjánsson is judging Sæmundr too harshly. The text of *Br* suggests that both men are responsible for the strife and the sympathy of the audience shifts from initial sympathy with Ögmundr, to horror at the brutal killing of the sons of Ormr which he cunningly engineers.

That summer Sæmundr goes to the *alþingi* with a large force to prosecute Ögmundr. Brandr pleads with him to drop the suit, and Guðmundr also asks him to spare Ögmundr, his foster father. It is apparent that Brandr thinks he has solved the problem, for we are told that it seemed to him that, as usual, he had managed to gain the best repute for himself.

Sæmundr's marriage to Ingunn, the daughter of Sturla Sighvatsson, aligns him with the powerful Sturlung family. Ingunn's uncle, her father's brother, Þórðr Sighvatsson, encourages Sæmundr in the course he is pursuing against Ögmundr, and asks him not to yield, because he lacks neither men nor the support of his in-laws. Immediately after the marriage Sæmundr arranges a feast and invites his brother Guðmundr. The two brothers talk a great deal together and at their parting Sæmundr gives his brother a good horse.

Not long after this Sæmundr gets his brother Guðmundr away from his foster home with Ögmundr and Steinunn, and after Christmas he rides to Kirkjubær with eighty men. Alfheiðr, Guðmundr's mother and one of the two women in the story who attempt to prevent the conflict, tries to dissuade the latter from joining Sæmundr on the outing, reminding him of the honourable treatment he has received

from Ögmundr. So concerned is she about his safety, that she physically locks him into the dressingroom, but he manages to break free.

When the people at Kirkjubær become aware of the approach of the brothers' party, Ögmundr and about fifty men quickly dress themselves and rush to the church with their weapons, but not before Steinunn asks them not to increase the enmity with her kinsmen. Eventually the church is surrounded by Sæmundr and his men, but Sæmundr refuses to harm a holy church. Móðólfr, the deacon, manages to escape and rush to Tunga for reinforcements. Upon hearing about this, Sæmundr abandons the siege.

At dawn a force of about eighty men arrives at Kirkjubær to assist Ögmundr. Svartr, the brother of Helgi of Skál, strongly urges them on to the pursuit of Sæmundr and his men. In the aftermath of the affair he will pay dearly for this enthusiasm with the loss of his hand. This time it is Steinunn who dissuades them from the pursuit, for the sake of the relationship between her nephews and her husband. Ögmundr acquiesces, sets out to tell Þórðr Sighvatsson about his difficulties and is warmly received.

Meanwhile Sæmundr sends a man to Kirkjubær to summon the farmers to him. Proceeding from the assumption that they are guilty of an uprising against him because they are his kinsmen, he offers them a choice: they can swear him an oath of allegiance, or he will confiscate their property or maim them. The farmers naturally choose the oath, the brothers ride home and all is ominously quiet and uneventful throughout the winter.

Ögmundr spends the winter at Geldingaholt with Þórðr Sighvatsson. In the spring towards the end of May, he rides south across Kjölr. He avoids Kirkjubær but lets it be known that he is back in the district. The farmers send him word that

they are in a difficult position (because of their oath), but promise him that he can count on their resources as much as his own. This is another obvious indication, perhaps, of Ögmundr's popularity in the district. Then Ögmundr rides away towards Síða and nobody knows his whereabouts.

Two significant methods available to the compiler in order to achieve 'a structure linked by unities of theme and content' are mentioned by Tranter and are relevant to a study of *Svínfellinga saga*: a) adding additional material to a core (i.e. an already existing major work or works) whether as introduction, interpolation or final word, so as to comment on or interpret that work in a manner not originally intended by its writer, and b) judiciously cutting a work in such a way as to change its balance, shifting it in the direction of the compiler's overall scheme.

The ways in which the British text presents an abbreviated, more dramatic version of the saga has been shown on pp. xl–lvii of this Introduction. The inclusion of additional material in the form of a long interpolation needs to be examined more closely.

The first insertion in **Br** (lines 201–309) follows next: it relates an incident concerning the dealings between Sæmundr and the sons of Þórarinn, Þorvarðr and Oddr, in connection with a goðorð which had belonged to Gróa Teitsdóttir and her sister Ragnfriðr. This brief incident about other aspects of the life of Sæmundr, one of the protagonists of the saga, demonstrates forcibly the fragility of human agreements and contracts: the case is arbitrated by Þórðr kakali and, although the necessary sureties are agreed upon, these are not forthcoming. Everything is quiet for a while, but then discord increases again. The brothers raise a body of men against Sæmundr, who eventually forces them onto a cliff and obtains an oath of allegiance from them. The terms are that they will be outlawed and forfeit all their

property if they join forces against Sæmundr again. That same summer they nevertheless take sides against him.

That summer Þórðr Sighvatsson and Sæmundr both arrive at the thing with large followings. Þórðr's power is stressed: he has control over the entire Southern and Northern quarters of Iceland while Gizurr is abroad. Sæmundr now prosecutes the suit against Ögmundr which he dropped the previous summer at the request of Abbot Brandr. Since there is no-one to speak for Ögmundr, he is found guilty.

The next incident, part of the interpolation in **Br** (lines 229-246), shows something of the overbearing behaviour of Þórðr kakali, one of the powerful chieftains in the Sturlung family: he rides south to Hvál, arrives with hostility and eventually forces Filippus and Haraldr, the sons of Sæmundr Jónsson, to go abroad. The marriage of the sons of Þórarinn, at which Bishop Sivarðr was present, is also related.

The way in which Þórðr kakali distributes power amongst his friends and family is the subject of the next section (lines 247-268). The insert underlines the wide power base and influence of the *stórgoðar* during this period of Iceland's history. It also shows that his advocacy does not have much influence on the case between the sons of Ormr and Ögmundr. Hrani Koðransson also emerges as very powerful and influential.

The fourth part of the interpolation (lines 269-283) returns to the Sæmundarsons, Filippus and Haraldr. After a stay of two years in Norway, they are given permission by King Hákon to return to Iceland. They are eventually drowned in a storm on the south-eastern coast of Iceland.

The interpolation (lines 284-309) ends with a return to the story of the dealings of Sæmundr and Guðmundr with the sons of Þórarinn. While Sæmundr is

at the althing, Guðmundr is seized by Þorvarðr, taken to the Eastfirths and held against his will. The upshot of the affair is that the lot decides that Sæmundr should deliver the verdict and he adjudges what compensation has to be paid.

The standard editions of editors like Kålund, Vigfusson and Jóhannesson *et al.* all make a strong case for eliminating these insertions from the fabric of *Svínfellinga* saga for various reasons: the historical facts they present are not always accurate, they are chronologically out of sequence, they interrupt the narrative arrangement, and by the introduction of somewhat irrelevant material they disturb the tight structural unity of a tale which is exceptional in the *Sturlunga* compilation for its singularity of purpose and shape. If, however, the text of one received manuscript (in this case, *Br*) is examined in order to arrive at an explanation of the principles according to which that scribe/author/compiler set about his task, the subject of the investigation has to be the entire text as it stands. This study has already shown that the interpolations included in *Br* make interesting and valuable thematic and contextual statements: they evoke the cyclical nature of conflict which emerges from the context of the larger compilation in which the saga has an integral part, and they reinforce the thematic concern with the need for and sheer unachievability of reconciliation during these decisive years in the history of the Commonwealth. Furthermore, digression seems to have been part of medieval Icelandic literature from the very early historical writing and remained ‘characteristic of saga literature to the end’ (Schach 1984: 47).⁹ Given the chronological nature of the *Sturlunga* compilation, the editors are probably right in their view that this material did not

⁹ Schach cites several examples of digression (*excursus* or *ecbasis*) in the course of his study, for instance in the early *Ólaf* biographies, one of the *Fóstbræðra* redactions, *Egils saga*, and twice in *Njáls saga*.

belong to the saga initially. The fact that it occurs so pointedly in all the paper copies in the text of *Svínfellinga saga*, Ip included, and forms an integral part of the summary in 439, suggests that it was part of the text of the common ancestor of I and II and had thematic significance for and did not offend the sense of structure of the medieval audience. This is certainly one legitimate way of seeing these additions to the plot of *Svínfellinga saga*.

In his discussion of the methods of composition employed by Sturla Þorðarson, Thomas (1950: 54–60) concludes that Sturla used both written and oral accounts for his work. Thomas quotes several sources, for instance Bjarnarson's Prologue to his 1908 edition of *Sturlunga saga* and the Preface to the *Saga of Bishop Guðmundr Arason* (1858), to prove that material was obtained 'from letters (*bréfum*) written by those who were contemporaries of the actors in the events of the story'. He continues that *bréf* in earlier times was used for any written material. This provides an intriguing clue to the method of composition of *Svínfellinga saga* as it appears in text of Br. The compiler states: *Nú fara margar sögur saman jafnfram* (line 625) and a little later: *Þetta [er] í kunnari sögu ok kemr flest fram á bréf* (line 628). The material assembled in this part of the saga, with its disjunct chronology, seems quite possibly to have been combined from various kinds of sources. Thomas's assertion that *Guðmundar saga dýra* is 'a kind of mosaic composed of sections which are loosely linked together ... [and] just touch the main story at one point on its circumference' holds true for *Svínfellinga saga*. But in this saga the method does not result in 'clumsy botching' – the unity of theme holds the pieces of the mosaic together.

When the story returns to Ögmundr, news of his conviction comes from the *alþingi*. This disturbs Abbot Brandr, because Sæmundr is going directly against his

request to abandon the case. Sæmundr now rides to Kirkjubær and holds a court of confiscation in execution of Ögmundr's sentence of outlawry. Steinunn weeps when Sæmundr drives away the livestock. When a woman says it is to be excused that Steinunn should feel a great sense of loss, the latter adds another touch of foreboding with her words: 'Þat muntu ætla, at ek gráta fé þetta, er þeir reka hér í brott. En þat er eigi þó, því at ek vildi gjarna at þeir hefði er mér þyrfti, ef svá hefði eigi til borit sem nú er. Heldr græt ek þat, er ek uggi at eptir kæmi síðar' (lines 327-30). Then she goes to the church and prays to God that there will be no trouble between them for as long as she lives.

Abbot Brandr also tries to prevent further strife and pleads with Sæmundr to be reconciled with Ögmundr, a request to which he accedes, making the Abbot very happy. The brothers ride to meet Ögmundr and establish a truce with the counsel of the Abbot and other good people. When the abbot tells Steinunn that the brothers are reconciled, she is overjoyed and welcomes home Ögmundr, who comes out of hiding, and begs him to keep the truce as best he can. The first sign that Ögmundr is acting suspiciously comes when Sæmundr and Þorsteinn arrive at Kirkjubær and the latter draws Sæmundr's attention to the fact that all the men who come out to meet them are armed with some kind of weapon. Sæmundr trusts Ögmundr and admonishes Þorsteinn for hinting that he may break the truce.

When Steinunn falls ill and dies on the Saturday evening before Easter, the scene is set for the final confrontation. In that same Easter week Ögmundr sends Sæmundr a cunning letter, requesting him henceforward to maintain their friendship because of the affinity between them and as Steinunn prayed with great goodwill before she died. Among other things the letter also requests Sæmundr to act moderately towards the men of the district and not to move about the district

with many men because the spring weather is harsh and stores of hay are hard to come by.

The climax of the story is reached in the ambush of the two brothers and their brutal slaying in 1252. Ögmundr and his men wait for them in a little hollow close to the pathway. The exchange between Sæmundr and Ögmundr and Sæmundr's subsequent execution are presented in typical, detached saga style: vivid and brisk, achieving its impact with short syntactical units, virtually no subordinate clauses and a cumulative sentence structure:¹⁰

Ögmundr mælti: 'Þú skalt deyja,' segir hann, 'ok svá Guðmundr,
bróðir þinn.
'Prestsfund vil ek hafa,' segir Sæmundr.
'Skömmu muntu prestsfund hafa,' segir Ögmundr.
'Gör nú sem Guð kennir þér,' segir Sæmundr.
Jón karl sagði fara skal eptir presti.
Þrír voru prestar á staðnum. Þormóðr hét staðarprestr, annarr
Hjalti, þriðji Sæmundr. Nú kómu prestar til, ok báðu þeir þeim griða, ok var
Sæmundr prestr harðorðr við ok kvað Ögmundr seint mundu fá bætt glæp
sinn, ef þetta gengi fram.
Ögmundr hlýddi á hana þeir sögðu, ok gaf [sér ekki um].
Sæmundr Ormsson bað at hann sendir eptir Brandi ábóta, ok
kvaðsk vilja finna hann.
Ögmundr kvað þess enga ván.

(lines 437–50)

The death of the eighteen-year-old Guðmundr, however, is far more poignantly presented to convey the full horror of the killing: Guðmundr twice says that it would be good to still remain alive, whereas Ögmundr's emotional turmoil is portrayed in physical terms: *Ok var hann þá rauðr sem blóð* (lines 472–73) and *Gekk Ögmundr frá eptir þat ok settisk niðr ok var mjök þrúttinn í andliti* (lines 476–77). This is an instance of psychological realism, '...an unerring portrayal of the human heart, a

¹⁰ These characteristics of saga style were first identified by Otto Springer (1939: 118–19).

concentration on inner conflicts...' identified by Springer (1939: 113). The characteristic unadorned style, stripped of elaborate rhetorical devices, continues and heightens the poignancy of the narrative: Þorsteinn, an innocent bystander, is summoned to chop off Guðmundr's neck but does not manage to sever it with the first blow. Brandr Guðmundarson gropes with his hand into the wound to see how deep it is, and only at the second attempt is the head chopped off. A characteristic example of intruding statements, introduced by the verb *þykkja*, occurs here: *ok þótti þá flestum öllum ærit mikit at vunnit ok fannst mikit um þessa atburði* (lines 499–500). This is an example of a kind of understatement or litotes. The narrator assumes 'the role of the dispassionate observer and reduce[s] the pathos and passion ... to the temper of cool calculation' (Springer 1939: 124).

As a consequence of the killings, Ögmundr rides to Svartr Loftsson and chops off his hand. The case is then put into the hands of Abbot Brandr and Skógar Skeggi. Ögmundr accepts the judgement without comment. Kristjánsson maintains that 'pride and the flint-hard standards of his time had driven him to deeds of shame' (1988: 200). Gehl (1937: 33) puts it succinctly: 'Der trifft tödlich, der die Ehre trifft'.¹¹

Although the text of *I* ends neatly with the outcome of the suit and Ögmundr's banishment from the district, the text of *Br* continues, moving gradually into the broader stream of historical events, showing the influence of Gizurr, no doubt strengthened by his friendship with Bishop Heinrekr and Abbot Brandr. The ending

¹¹ Such revenge was inevitably not pleasurable:

Nur sehr selten wird das Augenblick der Rache als ein Genuss dargestellt, und selbst wo dieses zutrifft, ist es meist ein kaltes Geniessen, nicht ein Rausch. ...Im allgemeinen ist jedoch die Wurzel der Rache nicht Hass, sondern das Gefühl einer eisernen Verantwortung. ...– [M]an rächt weniger aus Leidenschaft als aus Pflichtbewusstsein (Gehl 1937: 52).

is rather abrupt, but the entire section makes an effective transition into the contextual framework in which *Svínfellinga saga* is set. An effective link with the opening of the saga is established with the statement *Nú fara margar sögur saman jafnfram, ok má eina senn ríta. Mun nú um sinn sagt frá Þorgilsi skarða; ok koma þessar sögur þar saman er þeir koma út Heinrekr biskup ok Gizurr ok Þorgils. Þat sumar, er áðr um várit, vóru Ormssynir vegnir. Þetta [er] í kunnari sögu ok kemr flest fram á bréf.* The saga has come full circle, and this would be a logical place to conclude it. The compiler of the text of *Br* obviously did not have a tidy structure in mind, but had more information to convey; hence the added-on portion and the abrupt ending. Hume (1973: 593–606) concludes that the nature of the endings of the family sagas represents ‘a highly original attempt to relate art to the continuum of human experience’. The narrator of *Svínfellinga saga* adapts this style to place the events of the story of the Ormssons in the context of the continuum of Icelandic history.

As mentioned before, what makes *Svínfellinga saga* characteristic of the last years of the thirteenth century emerges clearly in the style of a significant descriptive part of the saga: on their last outing before the final confrontation, Sæmundr and his party are described in the style of chivalric romance influencing Norway at the time. This significant element in *Svínfellinga saga* evokes the larger movement towards change and decline in the cultural and literary endeavours of the Icelanders under Norwegian and European influences.¹² It also introduces an

¹² Heusler (1912: 9) mentions that by this time the old chivalry or *drengskapr* had been forgotten. Only an occasional glimmer of the new chivalric code of France and the crusades shone through. He adds:

Auch nach den äussern Lebensformen macht uns die Sturl. völlig vergessen, dass wir im ritterlichen Hochmittelalter, in der Zeit Philipp Augusts und der Hohenstaufen leben.

In a reappraisal of the *riddarasögur*, Weber (in Lindow and Weber 1986: 415–54) concludes that the *lygisögur* and *riddarasögur* are at least contemporary with the family sagas and that

unexpected break in the final, climactic chain of events. The detail is pertinent both to the physical appearance and the personal characteristics of the characters being described and bears no relation to the direct narrative context. What is unique in *Svínfellinga saga* here is the inclusion of descriptions of clothing and weapons, an echo of the well-known incident in *Laxdæla saga* where the participants in a revenge trip against Helgi Harðbeinsson are described by an eyewitness using virtually identical vocabulary and phraseology. *Laxdæla saga* shows the influence of the courtly and chivalric ideals which flourished in Norway during the time of King Hákon, who died in 1263, and his son King Magnús, who died in 1280. An interest in arms, armour and dress, and splendour in beauty and manly prowess is evident in the saga, which seems to have been written well after 1240 (Kristjánsson 1988: 273–76). Another parallel between *Svínfellinga saga* and *Laxdæla saga* is the description of a persecuted man who rushes into a river (Heller 1964: 105, 114–16). It is possible that the compiler of the former knew the latter and also obvious that *Svínfellinga saga* shows stylistic affinities with the latter.

Heller's article compares this case in *Svínfellinga saga* with a single similar case in *Sturlunga* – in *Íslendinga saga* in 1232 at the climax of the narrative about the Þorvaldssons Þórðr and Snorri. He enumerates many similarities in the description: in both cases a) the brothers attempt to overcome their opponent in the

'instead of a decline there was a coexistence'. His statement that

...the courtly traits and chivalric attire of some *Íslendingasögur* (e.g. *Kormáks saga* and *Laxdæla saga*) attest to the early influence of chivalric romance on Icelandic literature

could well hold true for *Svínfellinga saga*. That the emergence of the legendary sagas 'does not necessarily mean a decline in taste, but perhaps only a growing literary enterprise and expanded consumption ...' or '...a sort of literary democratization, a larger and less discriminating readership in search of easier effects' is also proposed by Andersson (1978: 160).

course of the conflict, b) this opponent awaits a favourable opportunity for the revenge attack, which will destroy both the brothers, c) in the last outriding the pairs of brothers accept the invitation of an older, trusted family member who stands as mediator between the parties, d) this person brushes aside the suspicion expressed that the other side might not keep their part of the agreement, e) the party concerned also does not heed a warning; they believe themselves protected by the agreement, f) this faith in the honourable attitude of the opponent proves fatal, since the agreement is carelessly broken, g) a last warning occurs to the younger brother in a dream, h) the description of the persons on the last outriding occurs before the final blows, i) the vanquished beg unsuccessfully for peace, j) the brothers are not killed in a hand-to-hand fight, but are defenceless and killed by the command of Sturla or Ögmundr, k) in both cases one of the opponents gropes with his hand into the wound to find out how deep it is, l) after the deed most of the perpetrators depart from the scene, while some of them, mostly those who were not in favour of the killing, care for the bodies of the slain.

Although the description is bound to have similarities because of the similar circumstances of the chief protagonists, the many comparable peculiarities are unusual. This seems to indicate that the latter of the two compilers emulated the former in the execution of the description, in other words, the compiler of *Svínfellinga saga* was influenced by the depiction of the events of 1232 in the *Íslendinga saga* when he related the events of 1252 (Heller 1964: 109). These similarities have to qualify and add another dimension to the theory of the author as an eye-witness to the events he describes. If he was an eye-witness, it is possible that he could have drawn on the style of the older saga to help him mould his own narrative, especially since he was writing at a temporal distance from the events and

his memory could be failing him. However, an emulation of narrative style implies authorial freedom which places some constraints on a too literal interpretation of the historical veracity of the subject matter. Heller's study clearly confirms the stylistic and substantive affinities between *Svínfellinga saga* and the family sagas.¹³

An element shared with *Sturlunga saga*, and especially the *Íslendinga saga*, is the evocation of foreboding dreams or incidents. Before the obviously prophetic dream of Guðmundr in *Svínfellinga saga*, a dream which is mentioned only in passing as if the audience would know it well, such a significant incident is related. When Sæmundr comes from his bath, he asks the serving-woman to rub his neck harder, because it itches. She does so, but he maintains that she does not. He then impatiently takes the cloth and rubs harder. It is the last night of Sæmundr's life, and in this description the compiler clearly and prophetically seems to foreshadow his decapitation the next day. The recurrence of similar incidents could be assumed to represent a folkloric element, in other words to reflect 'isländischer Volksglaube' (Heller 1964: 109). What is exceptional in *Svínfellinga*'s portrayal is the fact that the rubbing of the person addressed is ineffectual. Only one other comparable instance is to be found – in Chapter 199 of *Íslendinga saga* – where the context is similar in several respects (Heller 1964: 110). That such forebodings represent a means by which the saga narrator can intrude into the impersonal, objective saga style is an interesting point made by Van den Toorn (1958: 163):

Die zukunftsgewisse Vorausdeutung mach den Leser zum Mitwisser; sie erfordert aber, dass der Erzähler von aussen her eingreift und seine eigene meinung kennbar macht. Der Sagaerzähler tut das aber nicht gerne, den er

¹³ Bragason (1990: 85–86) comes to the same conclusion in his discussion of *Svínfellinga saga* and *Sturlu Þáttr*: '...samfélagsögur fylgi sömu frásagnarlögmálum og Íslendingasögur rétt eins og W.P. Ker hélt fram. Í sögunum er ekki hrúgað saman staðreyndum heldur byggjast þær á ákveðnum frásagnarferlum ...'.

verkörpert, wie es Nordal ausdrückt: 'Flaubert's ideal of a story-teller: to be like God in his creation, present everywhere, visible nowhere'.

This discussion has focused on the exceptional elements in *Svínfellinga saga* which set it apart, stylistically and substantively, from the main body of *Sturlunga* saga and show it to be closer to the Family sagas. Apart from the interpolations in *Br*, the saga deals only with the sequence of events between the Ormssons and Ögmundr, thus making its focus narrower and sharper than that of the complex, almost fragmented plot of the rest of *Sturlunga*. There are more direct conversations, making the impact of the narrative far more dramatic and immediate. Finally, the compiler allows for more emotions, 'a certain manly sentimentality, reminding in that respect of *Njáls saga*' (Einarsson 1957: 156–57), than in most other sagas and seems to have a clearer moral purpose.¹⁴ This suggests that the saga is stylistically closer to the Family sagas, and some parallels with a late saga like *Laxdæla saga* are possible.¹⁵ The exceptional qualities in the saga are not only due to its subject matter. They are derived in larger measure from the attitude of the compiler and as such are evidence of the late date of origin of the saga.¹⁶

¹⁴ On this aspect of the saga Ringler (1972: 11) comments as follows:

...the most unusual thing about this saga is the moral-sentimental streak in its author.... The author of *Svínfellinga saga* ... is a moralist: [h]e is clearly concerned with guiding our emotional response to the events he is narrating, channelling it in the direction of a coherent reaction to the story as a whole.

¹⁵ Heller (1964: 111) disputes this, maintaining that the saga shows influence, either consciously or unconsciously, from *Vápnfirðinga saga*.

¹⁶ The art of saga-writing reached its zenith in the middle of the thirteenth century when sagas like *Laxdæla saga* and *Gísla saga* were written, sagas which display an assured artistic shaping from traditional materials. Dialogue is also believed to be a literary development in the sagas, so that there is less dialogue in the earlier sagas than in later ones (Brown 1952a: xx).

Translating the saga

This edition includes, in Addendum I, translations of those sections which appear in the text of **Br** but are difficult to trace or unavailable in other sources. In order to explain the principles underpinning the translations and the glossary accompanying the rest of the text in this edition, it is necessary to review, briefly, some of the different approaches to saga translation that have emerged through the years.

* * * * *

Translations are not neutral but reflect the translator's understanding of the source material (Durrenberger 1992: 15–23) and depend on the purpose of the translator (Kennedy 1973: 21). Debate about the style which the translator should use continues. In summary, three main approaches can be identified: a) the archaizing approach, which frequently uses words now obsolete in English and surviving only in dialects and avoids syntactical constructions owing a large debt to Latin; b) an approach which reproduces in English many of the syntactical features of Icelandic and translates Icelandic words by their English cognates; c) an approach which aims at rendering the sagas in good everyday English prose without stylistic peculiarities.

Older writers used archaisms to evoke the spirit of an earlier time. This approach sometimes reproduces in English subtle Icelandic distinctions which could otherwise be indicated only by a detailed footnote. Sometimes the archaic phrase can be more forceful than the modern equivalent. Kennedy (23) makes the valid

point, however, that the authors of the sagas ‘employed the vocabulary and syntax of everyday written prose, but aimed at a greater level of terseness, conciseness and immediacy’. He continues with the warning that ‘to render their work into a type of English which makes it seem a quaint, moss-covered relic of the hoary past is scarcely just’. Such a work could well be regarded as irrelevant to modern readers. The problem with trying to give English an Icelandic flavour is that what is natural in Old Icelandic often seems awkward in English. Such a translation could easily repel non-specialist readers from further exploration. On the other hand, Johnston (1972: 10) warns against the use of modern turns of speech and slang, since ‘slang is not a literary language and will not carry anything but its own ephemeral mood, and modernism asserts its newness with a patronizing air’.

More recent translators used free translation in an attempt to bring the sagas closer to the modern novel. Such translations necessarily replace literal meaning with grace and fluency. In the process, material not considered to be part of what a ‘proper’ saga should be like has often been eliminated and the broader cultural context neglected. The aim has been literary: to transform the sagas into what the translators perceived as ‘great literature’ by modern standards. Whereas the archaic style makes translations inaccessible to the modern reader, modernizations make the texts accessible but distort the originals.

An alternative to the above two methods is close translation. This method can render an accessible text while providing a glimpse of the original. It can have two purposes: a) making translations as a valuable historical source and b) translating the sagas as windows on a civilization fascinating for its own sake. Whereas traditional schools of literary criticism, literary scholarship and folklore have insisted on the autonomy of the text, more modern approaches emphasize the

importance of understanding the arts in the context of the culture and the society from whence they emanate. Because Old Icelandic is not a living language and Iceland's social, political and economic forms are no longer those of the time when the sagas were written, 'the best guide for translating and understanding this literature is the comparative study of social, political, and economic systems similar to the medieval Icelandic ones' (Durrenberger 1992: 17).

Until recently, such interdisciplinary approaches have been foreign to saga scholarship. The text has remained 'the thing', divorced from the original context in which it was created. Free translations, archaic or modern, distort this context, and in order to capture a sense of the sagas as cultural documents, rather than as decontextualized literature, only the closest possible translation is desirable. In this regard Johnston (1972: 7–16) identifies three areas of importance for saga translation: diction, closeness to the original and rhythm. Diction should be as close as possible to the original, even archaic or anglicized Norse (especially technical terms), rather than explanatory. The translator should 'try to follow every nuance', in word order, syntax, tense shifts, and so on. The rhythms of the Norse prose should be retained in the syntax: the mixture of loose clauses and sentences, the lack of subordination, the mixture of long and short sentences.⁶⁶ Rendering the sagas in

⁶⁶ Van den Toorn has shown that the concept of time and its representation by means of the use of different tenses are closely linked with narrative point of view. The basic tense of the saga, as an exponent of the epic, is the preterite. This creates the fictional world of the saga. The use of the present tenses usually constitutes the dramatic, realistic tempo of the climax of the narrative (1958: 154–56). Van den Toorn reopens this discussion (1961: 145–52) and concludes:

Der Tempuswechsel in der Saga ist ...nicht in ihrer sprachlichen Form von Bedeutung, sondern als fiktionale Erscheinung, die tiefer in dem menschlichen Bewusstsein begründet liegt, als ihre äussere Form – die für uns in Unübersetzbarkeit gipfelt – vermuten lässt.

modern English should retain the dignity and simplicity of the language of the original (Kennedy 1972: 14).

* * * * *

The translations in this edition endeavour to remain as true as possible to the original Icelandic: they are largely literal, retaining characteristic shifts in tenses, formulaic openings, details of word choice, and lack of subordinate clauses.

Icelandic personal names and place names (which are given in the nominative case, retaining the nominative *r*), as well as special Icelandic symbols have been retained, with the exception of the old *Ø* and *ø*, which have been replaced by *Ö* or *ö*. Descriptive Icelandic epithets and nicknames and words which refer to medieval Icelandic institutions, like *goði*, have been retained but are explained in the General Notes and translated in the Glossary. Icelandic words which have no real equivalent in English have been retained in the translations, translated in the Glossary, and discussed in the General Notes, where necessary.

The text of this edition

Three editorial issues had to be dealt with in the course of this study: the history of the saga and the fact that the text of **Br** is so far removed from the original text of **II**, the purpose for which the edition was intended, and the question of which method to adopt for this particular text.⁶⁷

The first issue has, in a sense, been dealt with in a discussion of the different manuscripts of **Sturlunga saga** in the Introduction, pp. xxvii–xxxix. The decision to edit the text of **Br** as faithfully as possible and not to collate the various extant versions of the saga into one composite, eclectic reading text can be briefly justified as follows: the manuscript is regarded as containing the most reliable paper copy of the text of **II**, it has never been independently and thoroughly edited and should provide insight into the *modus operandi* of the seventeenth-century copyist, and there is already a good composite text of the **I**- and **II**-class manuscripts in existence.

The intention of this edition is to produce a readable text for a contemporary audience who does not necessarily have the historical, linguistic, cultural and literary background to understand the saga in its context. The editorial method adopted has assumed^d that texts written at an earlier historical moment should be presented to modern readers in terms of the age in which they were written. Thus the annotations (indicated by superscript numbers in the text) have been written in the belief that the text has to be understood on its own historical terms. The aim has been to enable the modern reader to become as competent as the original intended

⁶⁷ Small and Walsh (1991: 1-2) identify three related groups of editorial problems: those produced by the variety of the physical forms in which texts present themselves, those produced by the generic diversity of the works, and those produced by the different purposes for which works are edited.

readership (Small and Walsh 1991: 8). The glossary assumes a target readership of students who are mostly non-Icelandic. The edition aims at inculcating a coherent and sympathetic understanding of the saga which is unlikely to happen through the 'bare, unmediated contact with the work itself', as advocated by the theoretical assumptions of New Criticism (Small and Walsh 1991: 9).

The method of editing adopted here has been dictated by the nature of the text and the purpose of the edition. Even though the intention is to present the text with as little editorial interference as possible, its nature presents editorial problems which have required a certain measure of critical editing:

1. The spelling represents seventeenth-century conventions which made the text more accessible for the audience of that period but would not teach the modern student about the nature of the language in the Old Icelandic period. These spellings would also not be traceable in any good dictionaries, medieval or modern. The spelling has thus been normalized. Examples of the spellings used in the manuscript of **Br** are as follows:

Vowels

The use of **e** in endings is common, e.g. **atte**, **hafðe**, **Norege**.⁶⁸

The abbreviated **ei** is used consistently for **eigi**.

Before -ng **ei** is used, e.g. **leingrum**, **eingi**.

Eigill occurs for **Egil**.

The past tense of the verb **vera** is spelt **voru**.

The past and present forms of the verb **gera** are written with -io-, e.g. **giora**.

ie occurs in words such as **þorkiell**, **hiellt**, **hiet**, **liet**, **nie**, **kiendu**, **fiell**, and **knie**.

⁶⁸ e and i seem to have been interchangeable, with i the older and e the later or modern form in root vowels and i admitted in inflections (Cleasby et al. 1991: 114, 312).

o is used in **vopn**; **vor** for **vár**, **von** for **ván**, **vorar** for **várar**, **hvorki** for **hvárki**. The pronunciation is also followed in the spelling of, e.g., **kvólldit** (for **kveldit**) and **hvorju** (for **hverja**), while **ōngvan** is used for **engan**.⁶⁹

og and **&** have been transcribed as **ok**, and **mióg** (for **mjók**) occurs throughout.

The svarabhakti vowel is written in full in several cases, e.g. **agætur**, **norður**, **Svartur**, **skyrhnackur**, **teckur**, **vetur**.

The preposition **ur** is used, whereas the negative prefix is predominantly **o**, as in **ovigðr**; **hun** occurs for **hon**.

Both **Øgmundr** and **Augmundr** occur. These have been standardized to **Ögmundr**.

Consonants

c is used in words such as the following: **corona**, **Carsson**, **tæci/tóc**, **fec**, **tecit**, **nocut**.⁷⁰ **eg** and **e^c** occur for **ek**; **e^{ci}** for **ekki**.

p, not **f**, is used in words such as **eptir**, **grepti** and **Loptsson**, although **Halfsson** occurs in the interpolation (line 202).⁷¹

The reflexive pronouns are consistently spelt **mig**, **þig** and **sig**, whereas both **hinn** and **inn** occur for the definite article.

i, instead of **j**, occurs in words such as **kiosa**, **bio**, **hia**, **seggia**, **sia**, **fjar**, **spiot**, **diakni**, **hliop**, **liost**, **jafngriugt**.

For **-kk-** the most common spelling is **ck**, e.g. **packar**, **lyckar**, **teckur**, **ecki**.

⁶⁹ Cleasby et al. (1991: 121) comment that ‘some of the best vellum Mss’ use this spelling and that modern **engi** is pronounced **ōngan**, following the declension of the pronominal adj. **þrōngr**.

⁷⁰ Cleasby et al. (93) explain that ‘throughout the Middle Ages the spelling remained unsettled, but **k** gained ground’.

⁷¹ ‘The spelling with **pt** in such words as **aptan**, and **aptr** ... is against the sense and etymology and is in imitation of Latin MSS.’ (Cleasby et al. 1991: 137)

Other double consonants occur: **-ll-** is frequent, e.g. **hallda**, **Hollte**.

The digraph **qu** for **k** is preferred in **kveða**.

Ph, not **F**, is used in **Philippus**.

r, not **hr**, occurs in **Rafn** and **Rani**.

The pronunciation has influenced the spelling of **pava**, for **páfa**.

y and **ij** are sometimes difficult to distinguish. Sometimes the two dots are clearly discernible, but both **ȳ** and **y** (with one dot) also appear in the text. **y** is used in words such as **ryða**, **synu**, **tyðenda**, **syðan**, etc., but **spir** rather than **spyrr**.

z is used predominantly in reflexive verbs, e.g. **þottiz**. These have been given as **sk** in this edition. However, **st** also occurs. In genitives, e.g. **goðorðzmaður**, **Jonzdottir** and **dottir Marz**, the edition uses **s**. **Mez**, (**með**) and **oz** (**oss**) also occur, as do **einkiz**, **sjalfz**, **hverz**, **motz**, **lauz**, **graz**. **z** is also used with **s**: **þeszum**.

Other word forms in **Br**

Burt, a later, metatarthic form from **brott**, occurs occasionally.

Nominative **son** is used instead of **sonr** and has been retained in this edition.

So and **sva** are both used.

eðr is used, not **eða**.

2. Punctuation in the manuscript is confined mainly to short slashes and, in a few cases, a medial point at the end of sentences and sometimes with the function of a comma, marking off subordinate and co-ordinate clauses. There is no paragraphing but the text is divided into sections indicated by an indentation at the beginning of each and a capital letter, while the lettering of the entire line is slightly larger. These sections are normally regarded as separate chapters in editions. Some use is made of capital letters, for instance in personal and place names, but there does not seem to be a firm convention. In

this edition the punctuation and paragraphing of the text accord with modern conventions to facilitate comprehension. The start of each manuscript section or paragraph is preceded by a space of one line.

3. Square brackets are used in the edition to indicate emendations or additions to the text of **Br**. These include words totally or partially illegible in **Br** and added from other manuscripts and a few places where the text of the manuscript does not seem to make good sense or is grammatically incorrect. Such changes are also indicated in the Textual Notes. These notes, in which readings are from **Br** unless otherwise stated, occur as footnotes on each page, where they refer to the line numbers provided in the right-hand margin in the text.
4. Many words are abbreviated in the manuscript text, and these have been written out in full.

Each of the following groups has a particular mark of abbreviation:

ar, it, an, ir, il, or, um, ra.

A nasal stroke is used for **m** and **n**, while a single stroke for a number of other abbreviations is used, e.g. with **bp** for **biskup**.

The verb **munu** is difficult to transcribe. The abbreviation is **mdi**, which could be either **mundi** or **myndi**. The same problem occurs in the transcription of the verb **segja**: the abbreviation **s** could be interpreted as a present or preterite form.

5. The catchwords at the bottom of folios 152r, 152v and 153r do not correspond with the first lines on the subsequent pages.
6. A comparison of the interpolated texts and the main body of the saga shows that there are no significant differences in orthography or spelling.

The next seven pages show examples of the texts of *Svínfellinga saga* in the four most important manuscripts and a transcription of some lines from Br, the manuscript on which this edition is based. The sequence is as follows:

Page xcii	BL Add. 11,127 (Br), fol. 150r The text of the saga starts on the second-last line: Þá er Hakon ...
Page xciii	BL Add. 11,127 fol. 150v A continuation of the first paragraph of the saga. The second paragraph starts with the words: Ormr Jonsson bio
Page xciv	Transcription of BL Add. 11,127, fol. 150v, lines 5–30. (Illustrated on the previous page.)
Page xcvi	AM 122a fol. (I), fol. 95r The opening words are [P]a er Hacon
Page xcix	Stockholm pap. 8 4to (H), page 637
Page c	Adv Ms 21.3.17 (V), page 473

These are
clay
pans

[illegible][illegible]

Transcription of Bl Add. 11,127, fol. 150v, lines 5–30

Ormur Jonsson bio at Svynafelle hann var godordzmaður þar um Syðuna hann
atte Alfheiðe dottur marz úr Skogum

synir hanz voru þeir Sæmundur Ormur & Guðmundur þeir vorú bræðr Brandur er
sydan var biskup at Holum & þorarinn fadir þeira þorvardz og

oddz systur þeira vorú þær Solveig & Steinun þau vorú fimm syskin þa bio digur
helgi i kirkjúbæ hann atte Arnfryde

dottur þorsteinz bonda fra hofe synir þeira vorú þeir Øgmundur þorstein & Arnor
er sydan var abote i videy Socke og finn

biorn Augmundur helgason atte Steinunni Jonzdottur þau vorú born þeira Jon karl
Sigmundur og Socke, Gúdrún þora

helga og Arnbiorg núнна Skiegge marsson bio i Skogum Hann atte Solveigú
Jonzdottur þessi voru þeira born klængur þorsteinn Eyj

olfur Jon prestur Arnbiorg er atte Gúdmundur þorsteinsson er bio i Skardinú eystra
a Rangärvóllum Helge Jonsson bio þa

i Skäl hann atte azbiorgú þorlakzdottur systur Arna biskupz þáu Helge attú morg
born lopt & Biarna prest magnus & Arna er

sydan var biskup Helge i Skál atte þann brodur er Svartúr het hann var godur
bonde hann atte astride Gudmundardottur þáu attú son er

þorkiell het Snorre sveimur bio i Hollte i Medallande Hann var femaður micell &
þo lytelzhattar Hann var vinur Øgmundar Eig

ill het maður skyrhnackur Hann bio i mortúngú Ragneidur het kona hanz en Einar
het son þeira mez þessum óllum monnum var god vin

atta þat var eitt sumar er Ormr Jonsson var a þinge ad verk laust i hónd honum þa
kom til hanz Helge læknir er þa bio a mässtodum

hann qvað eigi myndi giora at giorder og at því varð þat seigia sumir menn at
Øgmundur Helgason tæce Orme blöd þar a þinginu a

giösædenne & sydan fellde sottena at honum Reid Ormr af þingenú & i Skalaholt
við micinn þunga & lagdiz þar i reckiú

& la leinge sumarz i þesum vanmætte Kom þa Alfeidur husfrú hanz, aústan &
margir frændur hanz & vinir at finna hann því at hann var

vinsælastur af öllum ovýgdum höfðingjum á Íslandi þá tók hann þátt í því að hann leiddi mest hvern einn af þeim hernað & óvilld þá sem

vófuðuz í enn hieft hlut synum oskerdum fyrir öllum þeim Ormur bonde andaðist í nöttum fyrir Mario messo hina syðari í Skä

lahollte var hann jafnastur fyrir ástun kyrkiu þá fór Alfheidur husfrú hanz með barni & fædde hún á þeim misserum svein & var kall

astur eftir fóður synum Orme þá haust var veigenn Snorre hinn fróði í Reykiahollte Sæmundr tók góðorð eftir fóður sinn & st

aðfestu Enn Ögmundur bauð Guðmundi heim til fósturs til Steinunnar fóstursystur sinnar Sæmundr tók þar frá Guðmundar í kirkju

bæ en Ögmundur varðveitti frá Guðmundar þá var Guðmundur víð vetrar er faðir hanz andaðist þá fannst brátt að er Ormur

var frá kallaður að Ögmundur hieft sér vel fram um heradztíðir & gjófuðuz margar greinir með þeim Sæmundi þá var eitt sumar að

Sæmundur lét eidfæra ömaga á landseta Ögmundar er Hóskulldur hét Ögmundur reid þegar að sá yfir efni hanz & villdi hann

kalla þat at Hóskulldur ætti eigi at annaz omagann fyrir fiarsakir sydan feck
Øgmundur menn til at færa aptr omagann Sæmundur

varð reidr við þetta & sier nu yfir fie Hóskulldar & þykir hann fie hafa at annaz
omagann & qvast eigi so buit hafa skyldú rydr hann

heim eftir þetta & qvað Øgmund rangt giort hafa & er nú kyrt um vetrinn.

[illegible][illegible]

viabi hⁿ falk. hⁿ undir kóróna, þⁿ aⁿ vⁿ aⁿ pⁿadoms innocentu
 þⁿor vⁿki sⁿt tⁿ Cógms stⁿla þⁿorðs, aⁿ þⁿ nⁿizⁿarⁿandⁿadⁿ dⁿinn Grejda
 Magnⁿðs Almⁿðas. Brandr þⁿ rⁿonsⁿ vⁿ rⁿigdr tⁿ alⁿta aⁿ þⁿ aⁿri er hⁿak
 þⁿ vⁿ rⁿigdr undir kóróna, hⁿ rⁿepⁿ fⁿ aⁿfti ~~þⁿorðs~~ þⁿ vⁿ rⁿigdr tⁿ alⁿta aⁿ þⁿ aⁿri er hⁿak
 þⁿorðs gⁿopⁿ vⁿtr þⁿ vⁿinfall, rⁿikr þⁿ gⁿodgⁿern, hⁿ hⁿafdr mⁿ hⁿeil mⁿta. hallⁿ þⁿorðs
 era Arnⁿðsdr vⁿ þⁿ Brandr, eⁿl mⁿ Gallðoro vⁿ Gⁿdrún dⁿ Brandr Gⁿþ.
 þⁿandⁿ sⁿunt.

CCCCXVII Cap.

Þattur Ormsfúna.

XI

Ormr þⁿons þⁿeo at Seinafelli, þⁿan vⁿ Gⁿþorðs mⁿ þⁿar
 anⁿ Sⁿðona, þⁿan attⁿ alⁿstⁿeiðⁿ mⁿitⁿed er skⁿögⁿ, þⁿ þⁿ vⁿ oⁿ þⁿor Sa
 mⁿdr Ormⁿ þⁿ Gⁿðmⁿdr, þⁿ vⁿ oⁿ vⁿ Brandr er sⁿidⁿ vⁿrd þⁿ at hⁿolⁿ
 þⁿ þⁿorðs fⁿ þⁿra þⁿorðs þⁿ Gⁿðs, þⁿ þⁿra vⁿ oⁿ þⁿ Soluⁿigⁿ þⁿ stⁿanulⁿ, þⁿar
 vⁿ oⁿ þⁿ þⁿorðs, þⁿar þⁿeo þⁿigⁿar-hⁿelgi i kⁿkioba, þⁿan attⁿ Arnⁿfríðⁿ dⁿ þⁿorðs
 Gⁿðla fⁿ þⁿorðs, þⁿ þⁿra vⁿ oⁿ þⁿ Gⁿðmⁿdr, þⁿ þⁿra vⁿ oⁿ þⁿ Arnⁿ er sⁿidⁿ vⁿrd aⁿrbⁿotⁿ
 i vⁿðey, þⁿokki þⁿ fⁿinbeⁿon. Gⁿðmⁿdr þⁿelgⁿasⁿ attⁿ stⁿanulⁿti þⁿons, þⁿ vⁿ oⁿ
 þⁿan þⁿra sⁿon kⁿl. Sⁿgⁿmⁿdr þⁿ þⁿokki, Gⁿðrún, þⁿora þⁿ Arnⁿbeⁿgⁿ klⁿutta.
 þⁿelgi, þⁿ þⁿeo i skⁿögⁿ, þⁿan attⁿ Soluⁿigⁿo þⁿorðs, þⁿ vⁿ oⁿ þⁿra Gⁿon kⁿla. þⁿar
 nⁿgr, þⁿ þⁿra vⁿ oⁿ þⁿ Arnⁿbeⁿgⁿ er attⁿ Gⁿðmⁿdr þⁿorðs, er beⁿo
 i skⁿypⁿino eⁿstⁿra aⁿ Rⁿangⁿarvⁿðⁿlⁿ. þⁿelgi þⁿorðs þⁿeo þⁿar i skⁿail, þⁿan attⁿ
 alⁿstⁿeiðⁿo þⁿorðs þⁿorðs þⁿorðs, þⁿar þⁿelgi attⁿo mⁿgⁿ Gⁿon þⁿorðs þⁿorðs
 þⁿorðs mⁿgⁿ. þⁿ Arnⁿa er sⁿidⁿ vⁿrd Gⁿþ. þⁿelgi i skⁿail attⁿ þⁿ Gⁿer er sⁿorðⁿ þⁿ
 þⁿ vⁿ gⁿodr Gⁿonðⁿ, þⁿan attⁿ alⁿstⁿeiðⁿ Gⁿðmⁿdr, þⁿar attⁿo sⁿ er þⁿorðs þⁿorðs
 vⁿeiⁿmr þⁿeo i hⁿoltti i mⁿgⁿti. þⁿ vⁿ fⁿemⁿ mⁿell, þⁿ þⁿo litⁿile. þⁿattⁿ þⁿ vⁿeiⁿmr
 þⁿorðs, mⁿz þⁿ Eigill skⁿyrhⁿakkr. þⁿ Gⁿeo i mⁿortungⁿo, Rⁿagnⁿhⁿedr

Abbreviations used in the annotations

A.S.	Anglo-Saxon	inv.	inverted
I	AM 122a fol	Joh	Jóhannesson, Finnbogason
439	AM 439 4to		and Eldjárn (1946)
abb.	abbreviated	Kå	Kålund (1906-11)
add.	added by	mod.	modern
Br	BL Add 11,127	O.H.G.	Old High German
corr.	corrected	om.	omitted
	correction	rec.	recorded
Engl.	English	TN	Textual Notes (included as footnotes
Germ.	German		which refer to lines numbers in the
GN	General Notes (which appear as		text)
	endnotes, indicated by superscript	V	Advocates Library 21.3.7
	numbers in the text)	Vigf	Vigfusson (1878)
H	Stockholm pap. 8 4to	w.o.	word order
illeg.	illegible		
inc.	includes/d		

SVINFELLINGA SAGA

BL Add. 11,127 fol.

Þá er Hákon konungr Hákonarson¹ hafði þrjá tigu vetra ráðit Nóregi, *fol.150r*
 kom Vilhjálmr karðínáli² [í] Nóreg ok vígði hann Hákon konung undir *1247*
 kórónu.³ Þat var á fimmta ári páfadóms Innocentii.⁴ Þá var kórin til *1250*
 lögmanns⁵ Sturla Þórðarson.⁶ Á þeim misserum/[anda]ðist Árni óreiða,⁷ *fol.150v*
 [son] Magnúss Ámundasonar. *5*

Brandr prestr⁸ Jónsson⁹ var vígðr til ábóta¹⁰ á því ári, er Hákon *1247*
 [konungr var vígðr undir] kórónu. Hann réð fyrir austr í Þykkvabæ ok var
 ágætr¹¹ höfðingi, klerkr góðr, vitr ok vinsæll. Hann[...]hafði mannheill mikla.
 Halldóra Arnórsdóttir var móðir hans en móðir Halldóru var Guðrún, dóttir

§ *References in these footnotes are to the line numbers indicated in the right-hand margin. Superscript numbers refer to the General Notes, which start on p. 52.*

1 In Br, (fol. 150r) the marginal note, **Hér vantar enn við**, seems to indicate an omission here, yet there is neither space left for adding anything nor a new heading, indicating the beginning of a separate section or saga. In I, the text of the saga starts on fol. 95r, the beginning of a new gathering and of the second section written by the third of four hands. The seventeenth-century chapter heading, **Þáttur Avgmundar Helgasonar ok þeirra br[æðra] Sæmundar ok Guðmundar Orms sona Svinfellings** appears at the top of fol. 95r. Of the previous leaf, fol. 94v, a large part has been completely torn away. The second column of fol. 94v was originally left blank but has since been filled with other material in later hands.

Þá] Svá er sagt at þá V.

Nóregi] þat var eptir Haugnesfund add. 439.

2 í] om. Br; add. I, V, Vigf (without comment).
 hann] om. I.

3 Innocentii] En þrím vetrum síðar fór utan Heinrekr biskup Kársson ok Þórðr kakali add. I.

4 anda] no longer legible where the upper left-hand corner of the folio has been repaired with tape. Corr. from I.

5 son] corr. from I.

7 konungr var vígðr undir] illeg. because of restoration in Br but there is space for about four words; corr. from I, V.

Þykkvabæ] add./corr. in margin V; í Veri add. I.

8 vinsæll] ríkr ok góðgjarn add. I, V, Vigf (without comment).

Hann – mikla] ok í þann tíma hafði hann mest manheill þeira manna, er þá vóru á Íslandi I; (in Br, about three or four words are illegible).

9 Halldóra – hans] Hans móðir var Halldóra Árnorsdóttir I; one of the many instances of inv. w.o. in Br; for hans V has Brands.

Brands biskups¹² Sæmundarsonar.

10

Ormr Jónsson bjó at Svínafelli. Hann var goðorðsmaðr¹³ þar um Síðuna. Hann átti Álfheiði, dóttur [Njáls] ór¹⁴ Skógum. Synir hans voru þeir Sæmundr, Ormr ok Guðmundr. Þeir voru bræðr [Orms] Brandr, er síðan var biskup at Hólum, ok Þórarinn, faðir þeira Þorvarðs ok Odds.¹⁵ Systr þeira voru þær Solveig ok Steinunn. Þau voru fimm systkin.

15

Þá bjó Digr-Helgi í Kirkjubæ. Hann átti Arnfríði, dóttur Þorsteins bónda¹⁶ frá Hofi. Synir þeira voru þeir Ögmundr,¹⁷ Þorsteinn ok Arnórr, er síðan var ábóti í Viðey, Sokki ok Finnbjörn. Ögmundr Helgason átti Steinunni Jónsdóttur. Þau voru börn þeira: Jón karl, Sigmundr ok Sokki, Guðrún, Þóra, Helga ok Arnbjörg nunna.

20

- 11 The text of H starts here, directly after the heading *Saga af Sæmundi ok Guðmundi Ormssonum ok Ögmundi Helgasyni*. In V, the Chapter is numbered CCCXVII, followed by the heading *Þáttur Ormssona*. 439 also identifies this as the beginning of the saga of the sons of Ormr and Ögmundr. Br does not indicate a definite beginning for the saga, but starts a new paragraph with a capital letter. A marginal note gives the title *Saga af Sæmundi ok Guðmundi Ormssonum [ok] Ögmundi Helgasyni*. Kå (107, n1) states that the title occurs above the section starting Ormr Jónsson ... but omits the fact that it occurs as a heading in H. bjó – Svínafelli] reð fyrir á bæ þeim, er at Svínafelli heitir I. þar] om. I.
- 12 dóttur Njáls] inv. I, V; corr. from I; Márs- Br (corr. in later hand), H. Njáls corr. over something else V. In a later reference (see lines 21 and 39), 439 has Mársdottir, which could thus have been the version adopted by II. The Annals give only Njálsdottir. Vigf adopts dóttur Njáls without comment.
- 13 Ormr] om. I. Orms] without this correction Br is ambiguous: Brandr and Þórarinn were the brothers of Ormr. Vigf (83, n4) puts a colon after bræðr and notes: ‘Viz. these were the brothers of Orm’. Jóh adds [Ormr].
- 14 Þorvarðs] Þorvarðar I, V.
- 15 Solveig – Steinunn] inv. I.
- 17 Ögmundr] ok add. I.
- 17–18 Synir – Finnbjörn] contracted, telegramme style H.
- 19 Þau] þessi V. þeira] Guðmundr gríss add. I.
- 20 Guðrún – nunna] w.o. inv. in I; ok – nunna om. H; Helga om. V.

Skeggi [Njálsson] bjó í Skógum. Hann átti Solveigu Jónsdóttur. Þessi voru þeira börn: Klængr, Þorsteinn, Eyjólfur, Jón prestur, Arnbjörg, er átti Guðmundr Þorsteinsson, er bjó í Skarðinu eystra á Rangárvöllum.¹⁸

Helgi [Lofthsson] bjó þá í Skál. Hann átti Ásbjörgu Þorláksdóttur, systur Árna biskups. Þau Helgi áttu mörg börn: Loft ok Bjarna prest, Magnús ok Árna, er síðan var biskup. Helgi í Skál átti þann bróður, er Svartr¹⁹ hét. Hann var góðr bóndi; hann átti Ástriði Guðmundardóttur. Þau áttu son, er Þorkell hét.

Snorri sveimr bjó í Holti í Meðallandi. Hann var fémaðr mikill, ok þó lítills háttar. Hann var vinr²⁰ Ögmundar.

Egill hét maðr, skyrhnaðr. Hann bjó í Mörtungu. Ragnheiðr hét kona hans en Einarr hét son þeira.²¹ Með þessum öllum mönnum var góð vinátta.

- 21 Njálsson] corr. from I, H; corr. to Njálsson in margin V; Mársson in later hand Br; Vigf has Njálsson, without comment (see TN, line 12, Álfheiði, dóttur [Njáls], and line 39, Álfheiðr; GN 18).
bjó] þá add. I.
- 21–22 Þessi–börn] Þau voru börn þeira I; Þau áttu þessi börn H.
- 21–32 om. 439.
- 23 Þorsteinsson] om. H.
Rangárvöllum] góðr bóndi add. I.
- 24 Loftsson] corr. from I, V, as also Vigf (without comment); Jónsson Br.
þá] om. H.
Ásbjörgu] Arnbjörgu I.
- 26 biskup] ok Guðný, er átti Þórðr á Möðruvöllum add. I, H; Þórdís, Halldóra add. I.
í Skál] om. H.
- 27 hann átti – Guðmundardóttur] ok átti Ástriði, dóttur Guðmundar I; Ástriði Guðmundardóttir var kona hans H.
er] om. I.
- 29 bjó] var H.
- 30 lítills háttar] lítill bóndi I.
var] om. I.
Ögmundar] ekki átti hann barna add. I.
- 31 Egill – maðr] inv. V.
skyrhnaðr – Mörtungu] er bjó í Mörtungu; hann var kallaðr skyrhnaðr I.
- 31–32 Ragnheiðr – hans] Hann átti þá konu, er Ragnheiðr hét I.
- 32 en – þeira] om. H.
öllum mönnum] inv. H; mönnum om. V.

²²Þat var eitt sumar, er Ormr Jónsson var á þingi,²³ at verk laust í hönd 1241
honum. Þá kom til hans Helgi læknir,²⁴ er þá bjó á Mástöðum. Hann kvað
eigi²⁵ myndi göra atgörðir. Ok at því varð. Þat segja sumir menn, at 35
Ögmundur Helgason tæki Ormi blóð þar á þinginu á gjósæðinni, ok síðan
felldi sóttina at honum.²⁶ Reið²⁷ Ormr af þinginu ok í Skálaholt við mikinn
þunga ok lagðisk þar í rekkju ok lá lengi sumars í þessum vanmætti.

Kom þá Álfheiðr, húsfrú hans, austan ok margir frændr hans ok vinir at
finna hann, því at hann var vinsælastr af öllum óvígðum höfðingjum á Íslandi 40
í þann tíma, því at hann leiddi mest hjá sér allra þeira hernað ok óvild þá,
sem [þeir] vöfðuzk í, en hélt hlut sínum óskerðum fyrir öllum þeim.

Ormr bóndi andaðisk þrimr nóttum fyrir Máriu-messu hina síðari²⁸ í 5 Sept
Skálaholti. Var hann jarðaðr fyrir austan kirkju.²⁹

Þá fór Álfheiðr, húsfrú hans, með barni, ok fæddi hon á þeim misserum 45
svein, ok var kallaðr eftir föður sínum, Ormi.

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- 33 er] at H.
þingi] alþingi I.
- 34 Þá – Mástöðum] Hann lét senda í buð eptir Helga lækni, er bjó á Mástöðum í Vatnsdal I.
- 34–35 Hann – atgörðir] Hann kom til ok sagði at honum sýndist svá meinit, sem eigi mundi tjá
atgörðir at hafa I.
- 35 göra] gilda H, tjá V.
Þat] þá V.
- 35–37 Þat – honum] om. I; the line does, however, occur in Ip (Kå, 108n). Kå includes it in smaller
print as he does with all insertions from IIp.
- 37–38 við – þunga] om. H.
- 38 þar] þegar H.
- 39 Álfheiðr] 439 adds Mársdóttir, which seems to indicate either that this was the version in the
original text of II or that the error was Björn's in his copy (see TN, line 12).
- 41 í – tíma] om. H.
óvild] ó-ölld I.
- 42 sem] flestir add. I; aðrir add. H; er þar V, er þeir Vigf, þeir added to correct the relative
clause.
fyrir – þeim] om. H.
- 43 bóndi] om. H.
andaðisk] corr. from örandaðisk [?] in Br (a suggestion from Hermann Pálsson).
hina] om. H, V.
- 44 Var – kirkju] om. H.
- 45–46 Þá – Ormi] Þar eptir fæddi húsfreyju hans barn. Honum varð hét eptir Ormi, föður sínum H
(not rec. in Kå); þessum for þeim Kå.

Þat haust var veginn Snorri hinn fróði³⁰ í Reykjaholti. Sæmundr tók 23 Sept
goðorð eftir föður sinn, ok staðfestu, en Ögmundr bauð Guðmundi heim til 1241
fóstrs til Steinunnar, föðursystur sinnar.³¹ Sæmundr tók þar fé Guðmundar í
[kirkjufé],³² en Ögmundr varðveitti [annat] fé Guðmundar. Þá var Guðmundr 50
sjau vetra, er faðir hans andaðist. Þat fannst brátt á, er Ormr var frá kallaðr,
at Ögmundr hélt sér vel fram um héraðsstjórn, ok görðusk margar greinir
með þeim Sæmundi.

Þat var eitt sumar, at Sæmundr lét eiðfæra ómaga á landseta 1248
Ögmundar, er Höskuldr hét.³³ Ögmundr reið þegar at sjá yfir efni hans, ok 55
vildi hann kalla þat, at Höskuldr ætti eigi at annask ómagann fyrir fjár sakar.
Síðan fékk Ögmundr menn til at færa aptr ómagann.

Sæmundr varð reiðr við þetta, ok sér nú yfir fé Höskulds ok þykkir hann
fé hafa at annast ómagann ok kveðsk eigi svá búit hafa skyldu. Ríðr hann

47 Þat – Reykjaholti] om. I; incl. by **Kå** in smaller print; also adopted by Jóh.

47–48 Sæmundr – staðfestu] Sæmundr tók staðfestu ok goðorð I; ok staðfestu om. H.

47–89 om. 439.

48 Ögmundr] Helgason add. V.

48–49 Ögmundr – sinnar] Guðmundi var etlat annat fé; hann var löngum með Ögmundi ok Steinunni, föðursystur sinni I; (til Steynunnar – sinnar om. H).

49–53 Sæmundr tók þar fé – þeim Sæmundi] om. I; H has kirkjufé for Kirkjubæ, andaðr for frá kallaðr, adds annat after varðveitti and omits þar and Þá. Annat added to avoid ambiguity; kirkjufé corr. from H.

54 sumar] sinn I.

55 efni] fé H (difference not rec. in **Kå**).

56 ætti – at] metti eigi I; V has ekki for eigi.

vildi hann – fjár sakar] kallaði þann ómaga rangfærðann H.

58 reiðr – þetta] við þetta reiðr mjök I.

fé] eignir I.

hann] om. Vigf.

58–60 ok sér – þetta] om. V.

59 fé] til add. I.

heim eftir þetta, ok kvað Ögmund rangt gört hafa, ok er nú kyrt um 60
vetrinn.³⁴

Um várit fór Sæmundr stefnuför í Kirkjubæ, stefnir hann Ögmundi um 1249
þat, at hann þóttisk eigi ná réttu af honum. Heyrir Ögmundr á stefnuna ok
svá Guðmundr, bróðir Sæmundar. Síðan ríðr Sæmundr ofan í Holt í
Meðalland ok tekr þar upp bú Snorra sveims, svá [at] þar var fátt fémætt 65
eftir. Þaðan ríðr hann í Mörtungu ok skiptir fé með þeim Agli ok Ragn-
[heiði], ok rak þaðan í brott³⁵ fé alt, en segir Agli skyrhnakk, at hann skal
heimila vist eiga at Svínafelli þeim stundum, er hann vill verit hafa. Egill
tekr því hvárki vel né illa.

Síðan³⁶ ríðr Egill til Kirkjubæjar, ok segir Ögmundi til hvar komit var. 70
Ögmundr görir þar ekki at, en býðr Agli með sér at vera. Egill þakkar

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- 60 ok kvað – hafa] sagði hann, at Ögmundr görði honum rangt I (Kå: 109 incorrectly sees this as
an omission in Br and H but the sentence sequence is simply inv.); Sæmundr – hafa] w.o. inv.
H; (for hafa V has honum).
- 60–61 ok er – vetrinn] om. H (not rec. in Kå: 109).
- 62 Um] Eptir um I; (in V, Chapter CCCXVIII starts here).
Kirkjubæ] ok add. I.
- 63 at] er V.
- 64 svá] om. I, H.
Sæmundar] hans I.
- 65 at] corr. from I, V; adopted by Vigf without comment.
var] om. I.
- 65–66 svá – eftir] om. H.
- 66 Ragneiði] Ragnhilldr Br.
- 67 ok rak – alt] síðan ríðr hann í brott ok hefir með sér fé alt þat, er Egill átti I.
í] om. H.
skyrhnakk] om. H.
- 68 vist eiga] inv. I.
er – hafa] hann vill H.
- 69 hvárki – illa] mjók hvarngan veg I.
- 70 Síðan] Þegar Sæmundr er í brottu I.
til] í I, H, V.
hvar – var] sva búins I.
- 71 með – vera] inv. I.

honum boðit ok lézk lengr þar myndi vera en með Sæmundi.

Ok er þeir tala þetta, ríðr þar [at] Snorri sveimr, ok berr upp vandræði sín. Ögmundr bað hann vel verða við, ok kvað eigi mat myndi skorta í Kirkjubæ, ‘ok skal oss jafndrjúgt verða,’ segir hann. 75

Ögmundr sendi mann í Þykkvabæ til Brands ábóta at segja honum hverju þeir fóru fram. Ábóti hét at leggja til samnings með þeim, en bað Ögmund eigi halda vini sína til rangra hluta með ofkappi, ‘því at þess er ván, at Sæmundr vili þat eigi hafa, hvárki af yðr né öðrum mönnum.’³⁷ Ábóta líkar ok illa fjárupptektin, þótt sakir væri til, ok kveðsk ugga, at til meira myndi draga með þeim en þá var fram komit, því at Sæmundr var ofsamaðr mikill ok óeirinn ok görði at því engan manna mun, en Ögmundr var ótillátsamr ok átti mikit undir sér. 80

Um sumarit fjölmennir Sæmundr mjök þar til þings.³⁸ Brandr ábóti 1249

- 72 lézk – myndi] segir at hann mundi þar lengrum I (lengrum also Vigf); segir lengr myndi hann þar H; w.o. inv., lengstum for lengrum V.
en] eigi add. V.
- 73 tala] við add. H; ræða V.
at] om. Br; corr. from I; heim V.
berr] hann add. I.
- 74 sín] ok segir fyrir hverju hann er orðinn add. I.
hann] þá I.
vel – ok] inv.; ok om. I.
eigi – skorta] skorta mat ok önnur föng I; w.o. inv. V.
- 76 sendi] þá add. I.
at segja] ok segir Vigf.
- 77 hverju – fram] tiltekjur Sæmundar I.
- 77–79 Ábóti – mönnum] om. I but adopted Joh; Kå (110, n1) attributes this section to IIp.
- 78 at] om. V.
- 79 þat eigi] inv. V.
vili – yðr né] Munr eigi vilja þat hafa af H. Kå (110n) attributes this section, with yðrum for yðr né (Br), to IIp.
- 80 ok] om. I.
- 84 Chapter CCCXIX V. In Br a new paragraph starts here, indented and marked by a capital letter, while the lettering in the entire line is slightly larger.
Um – þings] Nú ríðr Sæmundr til þings ok fjölmennir mjök I; þar om. H; fjölmennti, mikit for mjök þar V.

reið til þings ok Guðmundr, bróðir hans, með honum. Á þinginu vill 85
Sæmundr segja Ögmundi til sekta. Ábóti það þá niðr leggja, ok svá það hann
Guðmund vægja Ögmundi, fóstura sínum.³⁹

Ábóti reið heim af þinginu, ok þótti hann þá sem jafnan, sér hinn bezta
hlut af deila þar er hann var staddr.

En Sæmundr reið norðr til Þórðar Sighvatssonar í Geldingaholt ok það 90
Ingunnar Sturludóttur, bróðurdóttur hans, ok var honum gípt.⁴⁰ Þórðr það
Sæmund eigi leggja hlut sinn fyrir Ögmundi, kvað hann hvárki skorta
fjölmenni né mægðir.

Síðan ríðr Sæmundr heim til Svínafells með konu sína. Ok þegar hann
kom heim, býr þar veizlu ok býðr þangat Guðmundi, bróður sínum, ór 95
Kirkjubæ.

84–85 Brandr – reið] Þá ríðr Brandr ábóti H.

84–106 Um sumarit – yfir jól (and 107–200: Eptir jól – snúit hafa)] Vigf gives the version from I with the comment: 'The following two chapters (5 and 6), and a part of 7, are taken from B [I], the text being more minute and better'.

85 hans] Sæmundar V.

bróðir – honum] om. H.

86 segja – til sekta] sekja Ögmund til sekta, enn I; sækja Ögmund V. (There is no need to emend to sækja as in V; this makes good sense as it stands.)

86–87 þá – Guðmundr] at þeir felldi þetta niðr, ok svá Guðmundr það hann I.

87 sínum] Ok svá gerir Sæmundr, at hann hefir eigi mál fram at sinni I.

88 Ábóti – þinginu] Af þinginu ríða þeir ábóti heim inv. I.

hann] om. I.

88–89 sér – staddr] at Brandr ábóti hafði sér enn bezta hlut af deildan I; (H has sem for er and viðstaddr for staddr); for staddr V has viðstaddr and adds: Sæmundr gerði fyrir orð ábóti ok hafði engi mál frami við Ögmund at sinni (since this is om. in I, Br and H, it must be from another text).

90 En – reið] Reið Sæmundr síðan V.

tíl – Sighvatssonar] með Þórði Sighvatssyni I, as also Jóh.

Þórðar – Geldingaholt] inv. V.

91 bróðurdóttur hans] om. I.

91–92 það – sinn] segir Sæmundi, at hann vill, at hann leggi hvergi sinn hlut I.

92 hvárki] til add. H.

94 Síðan] nú I; svá H.

tíl Svínafells] om. H.

94–95 Ok – heim] om. H.

95 býr þar] byrr hann V, I, which adds til.

95–96 ór Kirkjubæ] om. H.

Guðmundr kom⁴¹ til veizlunnar ok með honum Egill skyrhnakkr. Þeim bræðrum varð fjölrætt um veizluna⁴² ok vissu menn óglögg hvat þeir töluðu.

Guðmundr reið heim af veizlunni í Kirkjubæ.⁴³ Sæmundr gaf honum hest góðan.⁴⁴ Nú er hann í Kirkjubæ þat, er eftir var sumars. Um haustit 100 beiðir Guðmundr Ögmund brottferðar, ok vill hafa fé sitt með sér. Ögmundr tók því seinliga, ok vill þó eigi banna honum brottferðina. Steinunn húsfrú bað Ögmund vel leysa Guðmund af hendi. Ögmundr greiddi Guðmundi innstæðu þess fjár, sem hann tók við, sem var til hundrað hundraða.⁴⁵

Fór Guðmundr með þetta efni til Sæmundar. Sitja þeir um kyrt fram 105 yfir jól.⁴⁶

Eftir jólin dró Sæmundr lið saman ok fór með átta tigu⁴⁷ manna í Kirkjubæ.⁴⁸ Ok um morgininn er þeir ætluðu at fara, bað Álfheiðr, móðir Guð-

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- 97 kom] segir, at hann man koma, en Steinunn húsfreyja, föður-systir hans, bað hann eigi fara, en Guðmundr reið þó I.
með honum] om. H.
- 97-98 þeim – veizluna] Um veizluna var þeim bræðrum alltiðrætt I.
- 99 Guðmundr – veizlunni] En er slitit var veizlunni, reið Guðmundr heim I; (H has fra borðino for af veizlunni).
- 99-100 Sæmundr – góðan] ok gaf Sæmundr honum einn hest I.
- 100 Nú – hann] inv. V.
Nú – sumars] om. H
Um] en um I.
- 101 vill – sér] inv. I: hann vill hafa brott með sér fé sitt.
Ögmundr] en Ögmundr I.
- 102 ok – eigi] en kveðst þó eigi vilja I.
húsfrú] om. H.
- 103 Ögmundr greiddi] ok svá gerði Ögmundr, at hann gallt I.
- 104 innstæðu – hundraða] om. I; V has er hann for sem hann and adds ok fé allt; H abbr. to instæðu fjarins.
- 105 Fór – Sæmundar] Ferr hann við þetta efni til Sæmundar I; þat var hundrað hundraða add. H.
- 105-06 Sitja – jól] om. I; (H and V have um for yfir).
- 107 Chapter CCCXX V. New paragraph Br.
jólin] um vetrinn add. I; jölunum Br.
lið – manna] at sér lið; hann fekk nær átta tigu manna ok ferr við þetta lið I.
- 108 Álfheiðr] húsfreyja add. I.
- 108-75 om. 439.

mundar, at hann færi eigi þessa ferð með Sæmundi fyrir þá sæmð ok vel-
 görninga, er Ögmundr hafði honum veitta. Guðmundr bað hana eigi þess bið- 110
 ja, at hann færi eigi með bróður sínum, 'mun ek eigi þá meira virða, er halda
 réttindum fyrir honum.'⁴⁹ Álfheiðr bað hann/ganga til litlustofu með sér ok *fol.151r*
 göra klæðaskipti. Ok er hann klæddisk, gengr hon í brott ór stofunni ok rekr
 fyrir lás. Ok er hann verðr þessa vís, brýtr hann frá hurðina ok komsk út.

Þá vóru þeir Sæmundr búinir ok riðu á Kirkjubæ.⁵⁰ Þetta var um nót- 115
 tina eftir Pálsmessu.⁵¹ 26 Jan

Illugi Guðmundarson var þar bryti.⁵² Bergljót hét kona hans. Þau vóru
 at soðningu í eldahúsi⁵³ um nóttina ok Þorvaldr penni eðr feni.⁵⁴ Rakki var

110 Guðmundr] En hann svarar henni heldr styggliga I.

110–12 bað hana – fyrir honum] om. I; eigi þess biðja inv. H; (Jóh follows Br).

112 Álfheiðr] ok kveðsk svá aldrs kominn, at hann mundi sjálfr ráða ferðum sínum. Hon kvað hann
 þó eigi mundu fara svá búinn, ok I.
 til – sér] inv. I.

ganga] In Br fol. 151r starts here.

112–14 Álfheiðr bað – komsk út] ok kveðst svá aldrs kominn, at hann mundi sjálfr ráða ferðum sínum.
 Hon kvað hann þó eigi mundu fara svá búinn, ok bað hann ganga með sér til litlustofu ok göra
 klæðaskipti. Ok er hann klæddist, gengr hon brott af stofunni ok rekr fyrir lás. Ok er hann
 verðr þessa varr (varr V), tekr hann einn stein, er hann fann í stofunni, ok brýtr frá hurðina
 (með steini add. V) ok komst út eptir þat I; (Jóh follows I).

113 í brott ór] brott af I.

114 vís] varr V, I (which adds tekr hann einn stein, er hann fann í stofunni, ok).

hann] om. I.

hurðina] með steini add. V.

115 Þá – á] Þeir Sæmundr váru þá búinir ok (þeir H, V) riðu við þetta lið í I; (V also has í for á).

Þetta] Þá V.

um] om. V.

117 Illugi – kona hans] En sa maðr var á staðnum, er Pall/Illugi (not clear) hét ok var
 Guðmundarson, hann var bryti. Hann átti þá konu, er Bergljót hét I.

117–18 Þau vóru – feni] Þau vóru úti í eldahúsi um nótt at soðningu ok sá maðr með þeim, er Þorvaldr
 hét ok kallaðr feni I; V adds úti after váru and also has feni for penni.

118 var í] lá á I; lá í H, V.

119 sér – ferr] ferr út ok gengr V.

í eldhúsinu. Hann spratt upp ok gó. Illugi sér út ok ferr upp á húsin.⁵⁵ Hann sér, at hundrinn horfir norðr af húsunum. Hann heyrir þá mannamál ok 120 kennir þá skjótt mál þeira bræðra Sæmundar ok Guðmundar. Illugi gengr í skála⁵⁶ ok segir bónda, at menn fóru at bænum, ‘ok má vera at eigi sé með góðum hug til þeira, er fyrir eru.’

Ögmundr mælti, hverir munu þeir vera.⁵⁷ Steinunn svarar, húsfreyja: ‘Þat þykkjumk ek görla vita, at Sæmundr munu vera fyrir flokki þessum, ok 125 görið fyrir guðs sakir ok nauðsyn yðra, at þér aukið eigi vandræði við frændr mína.’⁵⁸

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- 120 Illugi sér – Hann] Illugi bað Þorvald forvitnast, at hverju hann gó. Hann gengr ok ferr upp á húsin ok I. If I and II were identical here, this could be a homoteleuton where the two words sér near each other have been the cause of a copying error in Br.
- 120 Hann heyrir] inv. V.
- 121 kennir þá] þekkir I; (for kennir – skjótt V has kallir glögt).
- 121–23 Illugi gengr – fyrir eru] Þorvaldr gerði[*gengr?*] ekki vart við sik, ok gekk heim skjótt ok inn í (til for í V) skála at rúmi bónda, ok segir at menn fóru at bænum, ‘ok eigi raðit, at með goðum vilja sé þeim, er her eru fyrir’ I; (er fyrir eru om. V).
- 123 þeira] sylfr kómu add. V.
- 124 mælti – vera] spurði, hvárt hann vissi nökkut af, hverir vera myndi I. svarar, húsfreyja] inv. I, V; (húsfreyja om., segir for svarar H).
- 125 Þat] þá V.
- Þat – þessum] Eigi þarf ek lengi at geta til, þeir munu vera frændr mínir, Sæmundr ok Guðmundr I.
- 125–27 ok – mína] om. I, which adds Ögmundr stendr upp þegar ok tekr brynjur nökkurar tíu, er hengu fyrir rúmi þeira, ok kastar eptir setjunum ok bað menn upp standa.

Þeir klæddusk skjótt. Ögmundr bóndi tekr mörg spjót, ok berr út til kirkju, ok allir heimamenn hans gengu með vópnum til kirkju.⁵⁹ Vóru þar fimm tígir vígra karla, er Ögmundi þótti vópnfært.⁶⁰ Ögmundr ok Pétur Grímsson⁶¹ gengu í stöpulldyrr,⁶² en í aðrar stöpulldyrr gekk Jón karl ok Snorri sveimr. Þeir létu horfa út spjótsoddana. 130

En í þessu hleypa þeir Sæmundr á hlaðit, ok kalla, at þeir skyldu hlaupa fyrir dyrrin, ok svá fyrir þær, er norðan vóru á húsunum.⁶³ ‘Gangið nú inn skörugliga,’ segir Sæmundr, ‘ok látim þá enga viðtöku fá.’ 135

Þá mælti Ögmundr: ‘Ef þér vilið nökkura menn finna, þá gangið þér út til kirkjunnar, því at húsin eru auð af mönnum.’

Þá svarar engi, ok hlaupa allir senn ofan til kirkjunnar, ok slógu hring um hana ok brugðu sverðum.

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- 128 skjótt] því at ljós brann hverja nótt add. I.
bóndi] om. H.
spjót] er bundin váru í kerfi add. I.
- 129 allir – hans] þeir menn aðrir, er fyrir váru I.
vópnum] spjót H.
gengu – kirkju] inv. I, which adds Ok er bóndi kemr í kirkjuna, telr hann liðit, ok
- 130 karla] manna H.
er Ögmundi] þat er honum I.
- 130–31 Ögmundr – stöpulldyrr] Síðan gengr Ögmundr með vapnum ok með honum Pétur Grímsson. Þeir ganga í stöpulinn út I; (H also has stöpulinn for stöpulldyrr); Kā (113n) indicates that Br om. Síðan – Þeir, yet the two versions are essentially the same.
- 131 stöpulldyrr] om. V.
- 132 horfa út] inv. I.
- 133 En] ok I.
Sæmundr] heim add. V.
hlaðit] ok menn hans add. I.
kalla] kallar Sæmundr I.
- 134 ok] om. I.
þær] dyrr add. I.
vóru] höfðu V.
- 135 Sæmundr] hann I.
þá] nú add. I.
- 136 þér út] hingat I; þér om. H, V.
- 138 Þá – engi] Þeir svöruðu engu.
kirkjunnar] ok í kirkjugarðinn add. I.
- 139 hana] kirkjunna I.

Ögmundur heilsar þeim báðum bræðrum. Þeir tóku seinliga ok spurðu, 140
hví þeir væri í kirkjunni. Ögmundur kvað vart hafa orðit við ferð þeira ok
þótti þeir láta eigi friðliga, ‘en ef þér vilið með öðru efni fara, þá skal hér
heimil gisting.’

Sæmundr svarar: ‘Eigi munum vér hér mat eta at sinni,⁶⁴ en þess biðr
ek, at þú gangir brott af kirkjunni.’ Ögmundur kveðsk eigi mundi ganga út, fyrr 145
en lýsti, kveðsk þá mundi göra sem honum líkaði.

Þá mælti Guðmundr: ‘Hvat muntu þá meira kost undir þér eiga, þótt
lýst [sé] nú af degi?’

Ögmundur svarar: ‘Þat ætlaða ek aldri, fóstri minn, at þú myndir slíkum
orðum mæla, sem nú heyri ek.’ 150

‘Ekki mun nú farit at því, hverja virðing þú leggr á,’ segir Guðmundr,
‘því at þú vilt vera fullkominn úvin okkar bræðra ok launar ílla þann
velgörning, er faðir minn veitti þér.’⁶⁵

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- 140 Ögmundur] bóndi add. I.
bræðrum] Sæmundi ok Guðmundi add. I.
tóku] því add. I, V.
142 þótti] om. I.
eigi] ekki I, H; w.o. inv. V.
vilið] heldr add. H.
með – fara] inv. I.
skal] yör add. V.
143 gisting] vera I.
144 Sæmundr – sinni] Sæmundr kvaðst ekki hafa ætlat þar mat at eta I; H starts the sentence with
Þá segir Sæmundr.
145 ganga út] inv. I, V.
147 meira – eiga] w.o. inv. I.
þótt] þó H.
148 nú] om. I, H, V. Hermann Pálsson suggests that one would expect the subjunctive sé here.
149 minn] om., w.o. inv. I (not rec. by Kå).
151 Ekki] eigi V.
at því] verða add. Br.
151–53 segir – þér] ‘Vera ma, at svá sé,’ segir Ögmundur, ‘en mæla munu þat sumir menn, at ek væra
annarra orða eigi ómakligri frá þér.’
‘Svá skildi ok vera,’ segir Guðmundr, ‘ef þú hefðir eigi fyrri valdit upphöfum, ok fullkomnum
fjandskap við okkr bræðr, þar sem faðir okkarr veitti þér þat upphald, at þú munt aldri fá svá
góðu launat, þótt þú leitaðir við þat, sem þú skyldir, en eigi með vélum ok prettum, sem þú ert
nú sannprófaðr at.’ I.
153 minn] okkar V.

Fjárgarðr Austmaðr⁶⁶ mælti, sá var með þeim bræðrum, ‘göngum at þeim ok látum ekki kirkju standa fyrir þeim.’⁶⁷ Sæmundr mælti, ok kveðsk 155
þat eigi göra mundu ok bað engan mann [dirfa] sik at því at göra grand heilagri kirkju.⁶⁸

Móðólfr djákni, er kallaðr var gani,⁶⁹ fékk [komizt] út undir kirkjusylluna ok hafði einn hamar í hendi.

Teitr, fylgðarmaðr þeira bræðra, er kallaðr var Hafr-Teitr,⁷⁰ fékk tekit 160
djákninn ok spurði, hvat hann vildi, er hann hljóp svá.

‘Þat skaltú brátt vita,’ segir djákninn, ‘hvat ek vil.’ Hefr upp hamarinn ok lýstr á hálsinn,⁷¹ svá at Teitr lét þegar laust. Djákninn kastar sér út á ána ok leggsk yfir.⁷² Hann ferr á þann bæ, er í Tungu heitir.⁷³ Hann bað alla skunda til móts við Ögmund. Djákninn ferr aptr hina sömu leið.⁷⁴ Ok er hann 165
kemr aptr á bæinn, ferr hann í baðstofu, því at honum var kalt orðit.

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- 154–55 Fjárgarðr – látum] Þá tok til orða Fjárgarðr Austmaðr, er í ferð var með þeim bræðrum, bað þá at ganga ok láta I.
155 þeim] om. V.
mælti, ok] om. I.
156 dirfa] corr. from I; drífa, Br.
157 heilagri] om. V.
158 gani] -maðr add. I.
komizt] corr. from I; hann fékk brottizt H, V, Br.
159 kirkjusylluna] corr. acc. from H; thus also V; kirkjusyllinar Br; syll kirkjunnar I; -syllina H.
einn hamar] inv. V.
160 Teitr] hét add. I.
bræðra] om. V.
er – Hafr-Teitr] om. H; hann add. I.
162 djákninn] hann I.
hvat – vil] om. I, H.
163 hálsinn] handlegginn I.
Djákninn] Móðólfr hleypr at ánni fram, Kirkjubæinga-á (om. V, rest of w.o. inv.), hon fell þíð milli höfuðisa. Hann I; (H has framan at for at ánni fram).
sér] þegar add. I; (w.o. of sér ut inv. in V).
164 yfir] um add. H; þat hon var þíð milli höfuðisa placed here V.
Hann] segir Halldóri bónda heimsóknina, (ok bað alla manna add. V) bað hann senda á bæi at segja þessi tíðindi. Hann add. I, H, which om. þessi.
165 Ögmund] ok senda skjótt a bæi eptir mannum add. V.
ferr] snýr V, I, which adds þá skjótt and om. hina.
aptr] om. I, V.
166 ferr – í] gengr hann til I.

Teitr segir Sæmundi,⁷⁵ at maðr hafði brott komizt ok brott myndi menn koma.

Sæmundr bað þá skjótt ríða. ‘Ok vil ek,’ segir hann, ‘ríða í Skál til Helga Loftssonar.’⁷⁶ Þeir göra svá. 170

Ok er mjök var ljóst, kóma í Kirkjubæ átta tígir manna móts við Ögmund. Þar var Svartr, bróðir Helga ór Skál, ok eggjar mjök eftirreiðar, ok þess fýstu fleiri.

En Steinunn húsfreyja latti eftirreiðar, kvaðsk hon bæði til spara bónda [sinn ok bróðursonu⁷⁷ sína], ok kváðu íllt mundi hljótask af þessu hlaupi. 175

Eftir þetta ríða þeir Ögmundr í brott ok eirir undan þá en fyrst.⁷⁸ Hann ríðr norðr um land með sjau menn⁷⁹ til Geldingaholts til Þórðar Sighvatssonar. Ögmundr segir Þórði vandræði sín.

Þórðr kvað Ögmundi sjálfrátt í hvern stað at leggja hlut sinn fyrir Sæmundi, ‘því at þú hefir meira fjárráðakost, ok ert vinsæll af bóndum. Þótt 180

167 Teitr – Sæmundi] En Teitr gangr at Sæmundi, ok segir I. menn] at add. I.

169 Sæmundr bað – hann] Sæmundr brá þá við skjótt (brott H) ok bað þá brott ríða (verða V), ok segir þá liðinu, at hann vill I; (segir hann om. V).

171 ljóst] orðit add. I.
manna] til add. I, V.

172 mjök] mikil V.

172–75 eftirreiðar – sína] w.o. inv. V; in Br -da sinn ok sonu sína are inserted in brackets at the end of the line; bróður has been added above in a later hand, and ok þessu fýstu fleiri have been erroneously repeated after sína. Kǫ does not comment on Br here.

175 hlaupi] herhlaupi I, V (w.o. inv.).

176 Eftir – fyrst] Ok eptir þetta ríðr Ögmundr í brott ok ærði (also Vigf, thus following I, not Br) undan at sinni I. (Kǫ does not comment on eirir/ærði, possibly because the word is indistinct in Br.)

177 með – Geldingaholts til] með = við, til = í I; til – til = á fund V; H also has í for til. Sighvatssonar] hann sat þá í Geldingaholti add. V.

178 vandræði sín] inv. I.

179 leggja] láta I.

180 meira – ert] inv. I.

Ok þótt Sæmundr sé mægðr við mér occurs before Þótt þú in brackets, obviously in a homoteleuton corrected by the scribe himself, since the same words appear two lines further down in Br; om. V; H has þó for þótt.

þú hafir eigi goðorð, heyri ek at bændr vilja þér betr⁸⁰ en Sæmundi. Þótt Sæmundr sé mægðr við mik,⁸¹ þá mæli ek þat eigi eftir honum, at hann ofsæki neinn mann. Ver með mér slíka stund, sem þér líkar.'

Ok er þeir bræðr Ormssynir spyrja brottferð Ögmundar, þá sendir Sæmundr mann í Kirkjubæ ok bað bændr koma til móts við sik. Þeir fundu 185 Sæmund í Skál. Sæmundr tók þat upp, at þeir bændr höfðu sýnt sik í mótgangi við sik þar sem þeir vóru hans þingmenn. Bauð hann þeim tvá kosti, hvárt þeir vildu heldr at vinna honum trúnaðareiða, eðr láta fé sitt eðr limar.

En þeim sýndist at sverja heldr trúnaðareiða þeim bræðrum. Skildu 190 þeir at því, ok riðu heim við þetta, ok er nú kyrt ok tíðendalaust um vetrinn.

Nú er at segja frá Ögmundi, at hann er í Geldingaholti um vetrinn með 1250 Þórði Sighvatssyni. En um várit eftir fardaga⁸² ríðr hann suðr Kjöl, ok

-
- 181 goðorð] þá add. I.
 betr] eigi verr I.
 Sæmundi] ok add. V.
- 181–82 Þótt – mik] Ok þótt ek sé mægðr við Sæmund I; H gives ok þó for þótt.
 182 eptir honum] om. I, but adopted by Kå and Vigf (in square brackets but without comment).
 183 neinn mann] en add. I. H has eigi nökkrrar for neinn, which is given as ne einn in V.
 sem] er I, V, Vigf (without comment).
- 184 Ok – -ferð] Ok er þeir Ormssynir spyrja þetta, brottreið I, V; - farað H.
 185 koma] ríða I.
 Þeir] gerðu svá add. I.
- 186–87 Sæmundr – við sik] Hann hafði þá upptekt, at þeir hefði sýnt sik í mótgangi við hann I.
 188 hvárt – at] at þeir skildu I.
 eðr – sitt] hinn annarr, at hann mundi taka fé þeira I.
- 190–91 sverja – at því, ok] vinna honum ok þeim bræðrum (skildu add. H; w.o. inv. V) trúnaðareiða, at skiljast eigi við þeira mál. Skildu þeir at því. I. (Kå does not rec. the entire om. in Br.)
- 191 ríðu] þeir bræðr add. I.
 við] eptir I, V.
 ok – vetrinn] inv. I; om. H.
- 192 Chapter CCCXXI V; new paragraph Br.
 Geldingaholti] Holti I. (Jóh uses Br here.)
- 193 Sighvatssyni] om. H.
 suðr] um I, V; adopted by Vigf without comment.

vill eigi ríða í Kirkjubæ. Görði Ögmundr vart við, at hann var kominn í héraðit.

195

Bændr sendu þau orð Ögmundi, at þeir þóttusk verða nökkut svá hremmðir, en kváðu þó Ögmundi jafnfrjálsar sínar eignir sem sjálfs síns, hvers sem hann þyrfti við.

Fór Ögmundr þá brott af Síðu, ok vissu menn óglögg um ferðir hans, hvert hann myndi snúið hafa.

200

Þá slást í þessi mál með Ögmundi Þórarinnssynir Þorvarðr ok Oddr. Teitr Hallsson var með þeim Sæmundi ok Guðmundi ok virði þeir eigi, er

194 vill] þó add. I, Vigf.

ríða] heim add. I.

Ögmundr] þá add. I, Vigf.

196 svá] om. I, Vigf.

197 sínar eignir] inv. H.

199 Fór Ögmundr] Ögmundr ríðr I, Vigf.

menn] þá add. H.

201 The section which follows (**Þá slást – föðursystur Odds**, lines 201 to 309) does not appear in I, except for one small section (**Þat sumar – fór hann útan**; see TN 222 below), but is included in Ip and Iip. (See also Olsen 1897: 365–71)

Kå makes the following observations (116n): The following sections, a (**Þá slást – sam sumars**), b (**Um sumarit fyrra – Guðmundr Hjaltason**), c (**Maðr hét Hrani – Finn af Sámsstöðum**), d (**Þá er Sæmundarsynir – sem ván var**), and e (**Næsta vár eptir – föðursystur Odds**), are not found in I. Olsen has shown that they do not belong to this saga (*Svínfellinga saga*), where they were inserted in Iip and could hardly have been included in *Sturlunga saga*, but may have been intended for vellum II in particular. Of these sections, c (anno 1250) belongs to the saga about Þórðr kakali which is part of *Sturlunga saga*'s main source; the other four to the same saga (probably about Gizurr Þorvaldsson which is also otherwise to be found in *Sturlunga*), but in such a way that a directly continues into e (1250–51) and b is followed by d (1249–51). Ip follows Iip.

Vigf includes a followed by e, with the comment (90, n2) that the section is wanting in I and displaced in Br: 'It is a continuation of the above [a], referring to the year 1251'. He places b, c and d before *Svínfellinga saga* (chapter 215 in his edition) as chapters 212, 213 and 214.

439, Björn's abridgement of *Sturlunga saga*, includes these sections.

Jóh prints a, b, d and e as chapters 159–162 in the *Íslendinga saga*, while c occurs as Addendum II,5.

In Thorsson, these sections occur in an addendum starting on p. 933.

202 Hallsson] Halsson V.

þeim] bræðrum add. V.

virði þeir] undo þar V; unði því Vigf, who incorrectly states that Br has virði þá. Kå follows Vigf.

Ormr Svínfellingr hafði gefit Þórarni goðorð þau, er Gróa Teitsdóttir, móðir hans, hafði átt, ok Ragnfríðr, systir hennar; ok aldri höfðu þær leyfi til gefit at lógat væri goðorðunum.

205

Nú fékk Sæmundr eign goðorðanna af þeim, sem lögliga áttu, ok at erfðum höfðu tekit. Þessi mál vóru á alþingi⁸³ kærð, ok lögðu hvártveggju undir Þórð kakala. Þórðr görði þat, at Þórarinnssynir skyldu kjósa, hvárt er þeir vildu gjalda fimm tigi hundraða Sæmundi, ok eignask þá goðorðin, ok skyldu handsalamenn fram koma, áðr þeir riði ór Fljótshlíð. Þeir kjöru at eiga heldr goðorð, en engir kómu fram handsalamenn. Kallar Sæmundr nú til goðorðanna. Ok er nú fyrst kyrt, en þó vex sundrþykki at nýju með þeim.

210

Reisa þeir flokkinn, Þorvarðr ok Oddr. Ferr Þorvarðr suðr í Rangárhverfi ok biðr menn til atfara við Sæmund. Oddr fór norðan við átta tigi manna. Ok þar sem þeir koma, hrekja þeir menn. Sæmundr görir norðr í móti þeim. Þá hljópu þeir á einn klett allir nema Oddr, ok þeir þrír riðu frá þeim. En hinir er á klettinum vóru gengu til sættar, ok sóru Sæmundi trúnaðareiða. Handsöluðu þeir honum, at hann skyldi göra af þeira fé svá mikit sem hann vildi, ok þá er hann vildi, ok þat með at þeir bræðr skyldu eiga alt fé þeira, er þeir hlypi í flokk móti Sæmundi, ok fara útlaga⁸⁴ af eignum, en þat görðu þeir þó samsumars.

215

220

204 höfðu] The text is indistinct here on account of a mark on the paper which stretches down several lines.
 206 sem] er H, V.
 at] Indistinct.
 207 á – kærð] inv. V.
 208 at] Indistinct.
 212 Ok – nú] en þó er V (not rec. by Kå).
 en] om. V.
 215 görir] menn add. V.
 219 ok – með] inv. H.
 220 er] ef H, V. (Kå and Vigf both have ef; possibly following H, not Br.)
 221 samsumars] corr. from samsumars H (adopted by Kå, who does not indicate an emendation, and Vigf. Both seem to be following H, not Br.); sama sumars Br, V.

Þat sumar var mikil þingreið. Var Þórðr Sighvatsson fjölmennir ok svá 1250
 Sæmundr Ormsson. Þórðr réð þá öllum Sunnlendinga-fjórðungi⁸⁵ ok
 Norðlendinga-fjórðungi eftir fall Brands Kolbeinssonar,⁸⁶ en Gizurr var þá
 útan. Sæmundr hefir fram þat mál, er hann hvarf frá hit fyrra sumarit, þá er 225
 Brandr ábóti var á þinginu. Nú er þat auðvelt, því at engi var til svaranna
 fyrir Ögmund. /Lykr því nú svá, at Ögmundr varð sekr. Ríðr Þórðr heim *fol. 151v*
 norðr, ok þat sumar fór hann útan.⁸⁷

Um sumarit fyrra hafði Þórðr riðit suðr til Hváls ok kom þar um nótt 1249
 með ófriði. Gekk Filippus⁸⁸ út ok þeir menn, er fyrir eru. Þá vildi Hrani 230
 Koðránsson ljósta Filippus með keyri, en Þórdís Flosadóttir, kona Filippus,
 brá við hendinni með skikkjunni ok bar af honum höggit. En svá varð
 skilnaðr þeira at sinni, at Filippus festi Þórði útanferð sína á því sumri.

Þaðan reið Þórðr til Keldna. Þá sendi hann Aron í Odda, skyldi hann

- 222 In I, the following section, lines 222–228, (**þat sumar – útan**) follows directly after **hvert hann myndi snúit hafa**, line 200, which precedes the interpolation in IIp. 439 follows Br, but abbr. Kå places it after e (**Næsta vár eptir – föðursystur Odds**), indicating that it is displaced in Br (117, n1). Vigf does likewise and then follows I to the end.
- 222–23 Þat – Ormsson. Þórðr] Nú líðr at þingi, ok fjölmennir Sæmundr mjök. Þórðr Sighvatsson var til þings kominn með mikit fjölmenni. Hann I.
- 223 þá] einn add. I.
- 225 þat mál] inv. I, V.
- 226 Nú – auðvelt] Gekk þat nú auðveldliga I; (w.o. inv. V). svaranna] andsvara I.
- 227 Ögmund] In Br fol. 151v starts here. því nú] því om. V; nú om. I, H.
- 228 þat sumar] eptir þat V. útan] ok er þat mál manna, at hann skilði harðliga við þetta mál add. I. This information occurs at the end of a long section about Þórðr Sighvatsson in Br: ok þótti mönnum, hann hafa lítt skilisk við málín þeira Ormssona ok Ögmundar (see lines 257–58). Vigf places **Næsta vár eptir – föðursystur Odds** (284–309) here, based on Br. He omits the section **Um sumarit fyrra – sem ván var** (229–283) without comment.
- 230–32 Gekk – höggit] Gekk Filippus nú með keyri en Þórdís, kona hans, brá við hendinni því at hon vildi ljósta Hrána Koðránsson. H.
- 230 er] inni add. V.
- 231 Filippus] var hjá ok add. V.

koma Haraldi til móts við Þórð. Ok er Aron finnr Harald, segir hann at þeir 235
skyldi flytja hans mál ef hann vill fara með þeim, ok hans kostur skyldi þá vera
beztr, ok segir honum annat óráðliga. Nú með því at Haraldi þótti eigi
örvænt, at Aron fengi þat flutt, at hann færi eigi útan, en trúði honum vel, þá
fór hann til móts við Þórð. Var þá engi annarr kostur af Þórði en Haraldur
festi útanferð sína, ok þat fór fram, ok varð Aron honum at engu liði. Var 240
þat mál manna, at hann görði þat eigi at makligleikum.

Þetta haust kvánguðusk þeir Þórarinnssynir. Fékk Þorvarðr Solveigar
Hálfðanardóttur, en Oddr fékk Randalín Filippusdóttur, ok vóru bæði í senn
brúðlaupin at Hváli um haustit eftir er þeir vóru útan farnir Sæmundarsynir.
Var Sigvarðr biskup⁸⁹ at brúðlaupinu ok fór útan síðar ok Þórðr Sighvatsson. 245
Ok á því ári var veginn Guðmundr Hjaltason.⁹⁰

Maðr hét Hrani ok var Koðránsson. Hann var mikill ok nökkut
skrámleitr, langnefjaðr, ok hafit framanvert nefit. Þórðr kakali hafði vinaboð 1250
á Grund. Þar kom Hrani, Eyjólfur Þorsteinsson, Hrafn Oddsson, Sæmundr

236 vera] om. H.

242 þeir] om. H, V.

243 Hálfðanardóttur] inv., Sæmundarson ok Steinvarar Sighvatsdóttur add. V.
í] om. V.

243–45 ok vóru – Sighvatsson] om. H.

244 er – Sæmundarsynir] þat Sæmundarsynir vóru útanfarnir V.

245 síðar] síðan V.

246 Ok] om. V.

á því ári] þá H.

247 Chapter CCCXXII V; new paragraph in Br.
ok var] om. V.

247–48 nökkut – langnefjaðr] w.o. inv. V. **Kā** (117, line 29n) attributes **nökkut** to **Ip** and the Oxf. ed.,
adding ‘men ikke Br!’; a misreading of Br on his part.

248 framanvert] uppframanvert V.

ok – nefit] the entire sentence condensed, telegramme style H.

kakali] Sighvatsson H, V.

249 Grund] ok bað mörgum mönnum add. V.

Hrani] Koðránsson add. V.

Ormsson, Sturla af Staðarhóli, Þorleifr ór Görðum.⁹¹ Á þeim fundi skipti 250
Þórðr ríki með þeim.

Skyldi Eyjólfur hafa ríki í Skagafirði ok búa í Geldingaholti. Hrani
skyldi taka við búi á Grund ok vera fyrir héraði í⁹² Eyjafirði, Þorleifr skyldi
vera fyrir Borgarfirði, en Sæmundr fara austr til ríkja sinna. Hverr þeira
skyldi veita öðrum, ef nökkut þyrfti við. Þeir skyldu fyrir engum laus láta ríki, 255
nema bréf⁹³ Þórðar kæmi til eðr hann sjálfr. Gaf Þórðr þeim öllum góðar
gjafar at skilnaði.⁹⁴ Fór hann þá útan, ok þótti mönnum hann hafa lítt skilisk
við málin þeira Ormssona ok Ögmundar.

Hrafn bjó á Sauðafelli. Hann átti annat bú á Eyri í Arnarfirði. Hrafn
fór jafnan til Borgarfjarðar ok vingaðisk þar við bændr. Nikulás Oddsson átti 260
Gyða Sölmundardóttur.⁹⁵ Hann var lengi með Þórði Sighvatssyni ok fékk af
honum mikinn sóma. Hann var hirðmaðr⁹⁶ Hákonar konungs ok í góðri
virðingu með honum. Þau Gyða áttu tvá sonu. Annarr hét Valgarðr, en
annarr Sölmundr, en Helga, dóttir. Hon var gipt Þorláki Narfasyni. Þeira son
var Ketill. 265

Nikulás átti bú í Kalmanstungu ok var löngum með Hrafni, ok var með
þeim mikil vinátta. Allir hinir stærstu bændr í héraðinu voru trúnaðarmenn
Hrafns: Egill ok Þorkell prestur í Síðumúla, Finnur af Sámstöðum.

253 héraði í] om. V.
254 ríkja] eiga V.
255 nökkut] at nökkurs H.
ríki] þessi add. H.
257 hafa lítt] inv. H, V.
259 Hrafn] Oddsson add. V.
Sauðafelli] í Dalum add. V.
259–68 Hrafn bjó – Sámstöðum] om. H.
263 Annar hét] inv. V.
268 Egill] Sölmundarson add. V.

Þá er Sæmundarsynir kómu á fund Hákonar konungs, tók hann vel við 1249
 þeim. Gáfu þeir þá upp goðorðin í vald Hákonar konungs ok vóru með 270
 honum tvá vetr. Síðan gefr konungr þeim orðlof⁹⁷ til Íslands, ok fær þeim 1251
 aptr ríki sitt, ok kvaðsk, skyldu auka sæmð þeira. Fóru þeir í skip með
 Kolbeini svarta ok Skeggja hvíta⁹⁸ ok sigldu í haf ok höfðu langa útivist. Ok
 dróttinsdag fyrir Mikjálmessu⁹⁹ sigldu þeir austan fyrir Mýdalseyri¹⁰⁰ ok svá 24 Sept
 vestr fyrir, ok stóð Haraldr á búlkabrún ok skipaði land. Hvesti þá svá veðrit 275
 sem á leið nóttina ok þat veðr görði mánadag, svá at skipit leysir undir þeim.
 Hljópu menn þá í bát,¹⁰¹ ok týndisk þeir allir. En fjórir menn hljópu í
 stafnlok skipsins, ok segir þeir svá síðan at þeir kendu at Filippus komsk þriði
 á kjöl. En þeir vóru þrettán dagr¹⁰² á skipsflakinu ok höfðu enga vist, nema
 einn smjörlaup, ok átu þar við svarðreiðinn; drykk höfðu þeir engan. Var þar 280
 Ari Ingimundarson, Sighvatr köstr, Mör-Kári; Ögmundr hét hinn fjórði.¹⁰³
 Síðan fundu fiskimenn þá ór Vestmannaeyjum ok fluttu þá með sér til
 eyjanna, ok vóru þeir mjök þrekaðir, sem ván var.

Næsta vár eftir Þórðr kakali fór útan, reið Sæmundr Ormsson í móti
 þeim Oddi, ok hafði sjálfðæmi¹⁰⁴ af mönnum hans. Ok þat sama sumar, er 285
 Sæmundr var á þingi, tók Þorvarðr Þórarinnsson Guðmund Ormsson ok

269 Chapter CCCXXIII V; new paragraph Br.

271 Síðan] om. H.

þeim] þá H.

274 dróttinsdag] laugardaginn V.

Mikjálmessu] Nikulásmessu H.

Mýdalseyri] Mirdalseyri V; Kå emends to Minnpaks-.

276 svá] om. V.

278 þriði] Hermann Pálsson suggests that the original text must have had þrisvar, 'three times'.

279 enga vist] ha[e]rða útivist V.

280 drykk – engan] þeir höfðu engan drykk ne vist V; w.o. and order of sentences inv. V.

284 Næsta vár eftir] Þat næsta H; V's Chapter CCCXXIV starts Vetr eptir þat er V; (Vigf, Kå add. er, not in Br). New paragraph Br.

nökkura menn með honum, ok flutti þá nauðga til Austfjarða,¹⁰⁵ ok vóru þar
haldnir til Ólafsmessu.¹⁰⁶ Þorvarðr var sekr um hernað á alþingi, ok Oddr, 29 Jul
[Loftr Hálfðanarson], Magnús Jónsson.¹⁰⁷

Eftir þat sættusk þeir í Skagafirði um sumarit, ok handsöluðu 290
hváirtveggju fyrir sína menn öll þau mál, er görzk höfðu sveitanna á meðal.
Varð þat at sætt, at þeir skyldu hluta hvárr göra skyldi við eið, Sæmundr ok
Þorvarðr.

Nú hlaut Sæmundr at göra. Þessari görð¹⁰⁸ var upp lokit undir Lóns-
heiði, ok var þat upphaf, at hann görði sér til handa sex tigi hundraða fyrir 295

289 Loftr Hálfðanarson] Hál[f]dan Loptsson Br; Lopttr Hálfðanarson V (to which Kå (119n)
comments that it was probably corr. with conjecture).

Loftr Hálfðanarson, Magnús Jónsson] fleiri H.
290 í Skagafirði um sumarit] inv. V.

290–309 om. 439.

295 hann] Sæmundr V.

töku Guðmundar á hendr Þorvarði, en tvau hundruð á hendr hverjum þeira, er fóru með honum, ok skyldi annarr eyrir upp gefask, er annarr var goldinn. Fyrir sekt Þorvarðs vóru görvir þrír tígir hundraða. Þá görði hann sér til handa þrjá tigi hundraða á hendr Oddi fyrir sekt hans. Görði hann hundrað á hendr hverjum þeira, er fóru með Oddi norðan á sveitina. Tuttugu ok fimm 300 hundruð görði hann fyrir sekt [Lofts Hálfðanarson], fimmtán hundruð fyrir sekt Magnús Jónssonar. Þat mannaforræði görðr hann sér til handa, er þeir höfðu um deilt, en þat var norðr frá Lónsheiði um fjörðu til Gerpils, ok upp til Eyvindarár upp í héraði, ok skyldi þat jafnt skerða beggja þeira hluta þeira bræðra, ok jafna með sér þau goðorð, er norðr vóru þaðan. Síðan sór 305 Sæmundr eið at görð sinni.

Eftir þat bauð hann þeim heim, en þeir sóttu boðit, ok gaf hann þeim sæmiligar gjafar. Fám vikum síðarr lét Oddr drepa Þorsteinn Tjörvason,¹⁰⁹ ok var illa látit yfir því verki. Hann átti Þórdísi Jónsdóttur, föðursystur Odds.

296 þeira] hinna V.

298 vóru görvir] gerði hann sér V.
hundraða] til handa add. V.
Þá] Ok en V.
til handa] om. V.

298–300 Þá görðr – á sveitina] corr. acc. to Vigf, Kå. Br has Þá görðr hann sér til handa þrjá tigi hundraða görði hann á hendr Oddi. After Oddi V adds til hernaðr.

301 Lofts Hálfðanarson] Haldanar H; corr. acc. to V, where the scribe started writing Halfðan, then deleted and wrote Lopt's Halfðanarson; thus also Kå (119, n1). (See also TN 289.)

303 Gerpils] Gerpis Vigf and Kå; Gerpils Br; Grepils H, V.
upp] om. H, V.

304–05 þeira bræðra] om. H; beggja – bræðra] inv. V, as does Vigf, thus following V, rather than Br.
ok – sér] skildu þeir þat með sér jafna en hafa V.

307 ok] at skilnaði add. V.

308 Tjörva-] corr. from H, V; Torfa Br.

Sekt Ögmundar fréttisk af þinginu.¹¹⁰ En er Brandr ábóti spyr þat, þá 310
lét hann ílla yfir. En Sæmundr ríðr í Kirkjubæ ok háfði féránsdóm¹¹¹ eftir
Ögmund. Var þá skipt öllu fé því, er þar var. Fyrst var frá skipt staðar eign
en þá síðan í helminga með þeim hjónum. Tók Steinunn til sín allt þat fé,
sem hon kallaði sér, ok þar með þat fé, sem Ögmundr hafði gefit henni, því at
Sæmundr kvaðsk vel því trúa, sem hon segir. En mjök þótti fylgðarmönnum 315
Sæmundar/þat í móti skapi, er hann lét þat fé laust. En hann kvað þá ekki *fol.152r*
því ráða skyldu.¹¹²

Þetta fé rak Sæmundr í brott: þrjá tigu kúa ok tólf kúgildi¹¹³ ungra
geldnauta, fjóra arðryxn, hundrað ásauðar, fimm tigur geldinga, sjau tigur
vetrgamalla sauða, hross tuttugu, hálfr þriði tögr svína, fimm tigur heimgása, 320
tólf skildir, tólf spjót, sex stálhúfur, sex brynjur ok tíu kistur, dúnklæði á hest.
Ok er þeir ráku í brott féit,¹¹⁴ þá æptu upp nökkurir menn. Sæmundr bað þá
þegja.

310 Sekt] En sekt H; Nú er því til máls at taka sem aðr var fra horfit, at add. V; Chapter CCCXXV in V; new paragraph Br. From here on Vigf follows I (see 91, n4).

Sekt – þinginu] om. I.

þat] þessi I, H; (I adds tðindi).

þá] om. I.

311 féránsdóm] féránsdóma I.

312 öllu – því] inv. H, V.

frá skipt] skipt af I; w.o. inv. H.

313–17 allt – skyldu] Ögmundar hluta ok sín hlut því at hon kallaði þat sína eign I, Jóh.

314 sem] om. H, er V.

því at] en V.

315 sem] er V.

segir] til add. V.

316 í] om. H.

þat] In Br fol. 152r starts here.

318 Þetta fé – brott] Sva mikit (thus also H) fé var brottu rekt ok kvam í helming Ögmundar V, which places þetta – á hest later, after ok svá varð sem hón bað. Kå erroneously attributes svá mikit – Ögmundar to Br.

322 í] á I; om. H.

féit] þetta add. I; fé allt I, H.

þá – menn] inv. V.

upp – Sæmundr] þeir upp allir senn fylgðarmenn Sæmundar, en hann I.

322–23 Sæmundr – þegja] This line and the next (Þetta – grát) inv. in V.

Þetta kemr húsfreyju í grát.

Þá mælti ein kona, at várkunn væri á, at henni þætti mikit at sjá eftir
slíku fé. 325

Hon svarar: 'Þat muntu ætla, at ek gráta fé þetta, er þeir reka hér í
brott. En þat er eigi þó, því at ek vildi gjarna at þeir hefði er meirr þyrfti, ef
svá hefði eigi til borit sem nú er. Heldr græt ek þat, er ek uggi at eftir komi
síðar. 330

Gekk hon þá til kirkju, ok bað fyrir öllum þeim jafnsaman. Bað hon
þess guð, at við berisk vandræði með þeim mágum, meðan hon lifði.

Ok svá varð sem hon bað. Þetta fé, sem fyrr var ritað, reka þeir til
Svínafellis ok sátu nú um kyrt þat sem eftir var sumars, ok höfðu þeir
Ormssynir mannmargt. 335

115Nú ríðr Brandr ábóti at finna Sæmund, frænda sinn, ok biðr hann, at 1251

-
- 325 at] þott V.
 325–26 sjá – fé] missa þvílíks efnis I.
 327 Hon] húsfreyja V, add. I.
 svarar] segir H.
 hér] om. V.
 328 eigi þó] inv. I, þó om. V.
 meirr] með add. V.
 329 svá – eigi] inv. I.
 borit] tekist V.
 331 öllum þeim] inv. V.
 jafnsaman] síðan jafnliga H.
 333 bað] V places þetta fé – á hest here (see above, lines 318–21), in an error probably caused by
 the repetition of þetta fé.
 ritað] talið I; talat H; fyrr – ritað] nú er upptalat V.
 334 nú] svá add. H.
 sem] er V.
 sumars] -sins add. V.
 334–35 þat – mannmargt] om. H.
 336 Chapter CCCXXVI V; new paragraph Br. Vigf (p. 93) gives the wording of Br (lines 336–75)
 in a footnote with the comment: '...the text of [Br] is considerably at variance, both in
 disposition and in point of facts'.
 hann] om. I, V.

hann sættusk við Ögmund. Sæmundr segir, at hann mun þat göra sem ábóti vill fyrir sjá. Ábóti varð því feginn við góðgirnd sína.

Ríðu þeir bræðr vestr með ábóta, ok finnask þeir Ögmundi í Skál, ok sættusk með ráði ábóta ok annarra góðra manna. Ríðr ábóti heim eftir þat, 340 ok kemr í Kirkjubæ, ok segir Steinunni, systur sinni, at þeir Sæmundr ok Ögmundr væri sáttir. Hon varð því fegin. Ok kemr Ögmundr heim, ok tekr húsfreyja Steinunn við honum allvel, kvað einskis góðs skorta, ok bað hann halda nú sem bezt þessa sætt.¹¹⁶

Egill skyrhnakkr ríðr nú um haustit til Svínafells. Sæmundr tekr vel við 345 honum. Hann var hinn bezti búþegn. Hann hafði aldri færi eftirgöngumenn

- 337 sættusk – Ögmund] taki sætt af Ögmundi I.
 337–38 Sæmundr – sjá] Sæmundr tekr þessu ef hann kynni sik með hófi at halda. Bað Sæmundr ábóta at semja fulkvamlig grið ok sætt þeira í miðlum ok fastan frið V.
 337–40 Sæmundr – manna] tekr þessu vel, ef Ögmundr kynni sik með hófi at halda. Bað Sæmundr ábóta þá semja sætt ok fullkomin grið þeira í milli ok fastan frið. Ábóti þakkar Sæmundi orð sin ok kveðst vænta, at honum myndi vel fara I; ok annarra góðra manna om. H; (for ríðu þeir – góðra manna V has þakkar hann nú Sæmundi orð sin ok kvaðst vænta honum myndi vel fara).
 340 Ríðr ábóti] inv. H.
 341 systur sinni] om. H.
 341–42 þeir – sáttir] Sæmundr hafði heitit honum at sættast við Ögmund I, V.
 342 því] þessu alls hugar I, V.
 fegin] ok gerir þegar mann á fund Ögmundar ok biðr hann heim ríða add. I.
 Ok] svá add. H.
 342–43 Ok kemr ..., ok] Ögmundr ríðr þegar heim I.
 tekr – einskis] kvað húsfreyja engis H.
 342–44 tekr – sætt] Húsfreyja tekr við honum feginsamliga, segir enn ekki góz skorta, þat er hafa þyrfti. Váru nú sett fullkominn grið milli þeira Sæmundar ok Ögmundar, ok veittar fullar tryggðir, af góðvilja ok ráðum Brands ábóta ok Steinunnar húsfreyju ok Álfheiðar, móður Sæmundar, ok margra annarra góðra manna tillögu add. I; ok kemr – þessa sætt] ok görir þegar mann á fund Ögmundr ok biðr hann heim ríða. Ríðr hann þegar heim. Hon tekir við honum feginnsamliga, segir en ekki góðs skorta þess at hafa þyrfti. Váru nú sátt fullkominn grið miðlu þeira Sæmundar ok Ögmundar ok veittir fullkomligar tryggðir at góðvilja ok ráðum Brands ábóta ok Steinunnr húsfreyju ok Álfheiðr, móður Sæmundar ok tillögum annarra góðra manna. Bað Steinunn nú Ögmund at halda vel þessa sætt V.
 345 nú] om. H.
 haustit] austr add. H.
 345–48 Egill skyrhnakkr ríðr – því vel] om. I, Jóh.
 345–60 om. 439.
 346 Hann var] inv. V.

en fimmtán, þeir er honum fylgðu jafnliga, en opt fleiri. Egill segir Sæmundi mörg vingjarnlig orð Ögmundar. Tók hann því vel.¹¹⁷

Um vetrinn kemr Sæmundr í Kirkjubæ um farinn veg ok Þorsteinn Skeggjason, ok fátt af fylgdarmönnum hans. Gekk Ögmundr út í móti þeim, 350
ok allir karlar sem á vóru staðnum, nema prestur.¹¹⁸ Varð í fyrstu eigi skjótar kveðjur, en þó sneri Ögmundr á leið með Sæmundi, ok fór sæmiliga með þeim.¹¹⁹ En er þeir höfðu skilið, mælti Þorsteinn [Skeggjason]¹²⁰ til Sæmundar: ‘Hugleiddir þú þat, allir menn höfðu hér nökkut vopn í hendi, þeir er út gengu í móti þér.’ 355

347 þeir – jafnliga] om. H.

349 Um – Kirkjubæ] svá var til at Sæmundr reið um vetrinn eptir sættina V. ok] kvam í Kirkjubæ. Með honum var add. V.

349–50 Um – hans] Svá bar at, at Sæmundr reið þann vetr í Kirkjubæ eptir sættina, ok var með honum Þorsteinn Skeggjason ok fáir menn aðrir I; fylgdarmönnum hans inv. H.

350 Gekk Ögmundr] inv. I, H, V.

í – þeim] móti honum I, V.

351 karlar – prestur] hans menn, þeir er vígir váru á bænum, ok höfðu allir nökkurt vopn í höndum I; vígir karlar sem á bænum váru V, which adds ok höfðu allir vopn nökkut í höndum.

351–52 Varð – en] om. I.

352 Ögmundr á] gleðil við ok biðr hann þeir at vera en hann kvað ríða mundi sem hann görði til fundar við Brand ábóta. Sneri Ögmundr þá á add. V.

352–53 sæmiliga með þeim] inv. V.

352–53 þó – skilið] Ögmundr sneri þá á gleðil við Sæmund ok bauð honum þar at vera. En hann kveðst ríða mundu, sem hann görði, til fundar við Brand ábóta. Ok er þeir ríðu í brott I.

353 Skeggjason] corr. according to V, H. Helgason Br, om. I. til] við I.

354 höfðu hér] inv. V.

354–60 Hugleiddir – várar] kveðst sýnast Ögmundr ekki trúlig. Sæmundr bað hann þegja ok mæla ekki slíkt, ‘þar sem vér erum menn sáttir.’ Þorsteinn kvað þat þá mundu reynzt hafa ‘ef Guðmundr, bróðir þinn, hefði þar verit.’ I, which continues as follows: Fann Sæmundr ábóta ok segir honum, at sumum mönnum þótti Ögmundr ekki mjök trúlig um gríðin. Ábóti segir hann eigi mundu sannan at því. Sæmundr mælti: ‘Þat býðr mér hugr, herra, at mér þykki þá sárt at segja fjörráðin Ögmundar við mik, er þú trúir.’ Ábóti bað hann halda sem beztr fyrir sína hönd, kvað honum þat mestu varða. Sæmundr kveðst svá skyldu gera, ok skildu þá með blíðu, ok fundust ekki síðan lífs. Ögmundr var [heima – em. Kå] um vetrinn ok heldr fálátr; hann talaði jafnan mjök vingjarnliga til þeira bræðra, þá er þeira var getit. After várar, V adds: Sæmundr fann Brand ábóta ok dvaldi þar nökkurra hríð ok segir ábóta at mönnum þótti eigi Ögmundr trúlig um gríðin. Ábóta segir at hann mundi eigi sannir at því. Sæmundr mælti: ‘Þat býðr mér hugar at mér þykki sárt at segja fjörráðin Ögmundar við mik, er því trúir eigi.’ Ábóti bað hann vel halda sætt sína, kvað þat mundu verða. Sæmundr kvað svá vera skyldu. Síðan skildir þeir með blíðu, ok fundast ekki þar af lífs. This is an obvious instance where V has conflated I and another source.

Sæmundr svarar: 'Hví mundi þat saka?'

Þorsteinn svarar: 'Þá mundir þú þat hafa vitat, ef Guðmundr hefði hér verit, bróðir þinn.'

Sæmundr mælti: 'Hættu skjótt, ok drag ekki á þat, at Ögmundr, mágr okkar, mun eigi vel halda sættar várar.'¹²¹ 360

Þat varð til tíðinda um vetrinn á Langaföstu í Kirkjubæ, at Steinunn húsfreyja tók sótt, ok lá um föstuna. Hon var oleuð á skírdag,¹²² en hon 31 Mar andaðist Laugarkveldit¹²³ fyrir Páska, ok þótti mönnum þat mikil tíðindi, en bónda hennar mest ok [sonum] hennar.¹²⁴ Var hon jörðuð annan dag Páska. Yfir grefti hennar stóð Brandr ábóti, bróðir hennar, ok margir annarra 365 manna, því at hon var mörgum hugþekk meðan hon lifði.

Þetta it sama vár í Páskaviku sendi Ögmundr Helgason bréf Sæmundi 1252

357 svarar] segir H, mælti V.

361 The two episodes which follow (lines 361–66, Þat varð – hon lifði and lines 367–75, Þetta it sama – fylgdarmenn sína), are inverted in I.
um – Kirkjubæ] inv. V.

362 um] alla add. I.

á] om. I, V.

hon] om. V.

363–64 Páska – sonum hennar] Váru þá þegar sögð tíðindin til kirkjunnar, ok þótti þat (þetta V) öllum mönnum mikil tíðindi (stórtíðindi H, ok stór skaði add. V) en bónda mest (om. V) ok sonum hennar (om. H, which adds allar; hennar om. I; með add. V). In Br, sonum is not clearly legible; corr. from I, V.

365 margir] fjölði I; mart V.

365–66 Yfir – lifði] Brandr ábóti stoð yfir hennar grepti H.

366 mörgum] öllum I.

367 it] om. H.

Helgason] om. H.

367–75 Þetta – sína] New paragraph Br. This incident comes before lines 361–66 (Þat varð – hon lifði) in I (see TN 361). The wording differs considerably: Þat var eitt sinn, þá er a leið vetrinn, fyrir langaföstu, at hann sendi mann til Sæmundar með bréfi; stóð þat þar í með öðrum vinmælum, at hann bað Sæmund vera hægjan við bændr um þá hluti, er þeir áttu saman, kvað þá því traustari honum vera mundu ok veita honum meira eptirgang, hvers sem hann þyrfti við: 'fár ok heldr fámennr um heraðit nú, er hallæri er mikit á komit, því at nú er vetrarríki mikit ok er bæði illt til matar ok heyja.' Sæmundr svarar hér fáu um, en íhugaði þó slík orð.

Ormssyni, ok bað at þeir skyldu halda vináttu með sér þaðan frá, sem tengdum þeira heyrði til, ok kvað þess Steinunni húsfreyju hafa beðit með miklum álhuga ok góðgirnd, áðr hon andaðist. Ok margt annat var á því bréfi sæmiliga talat. Ok með öðrum hlutum var Sæmundr beðinn til með fögrum orðum, at hann skyldi vægja sveitarmönnum, ok fara eigi með margmenni, þótt hann vildi finna Brand ábóta, móðurbróður sinn. Var þat til fundit, at várit var heldr hart ok ílt til heyja. Trúði Sæmundr þessu, ok reið við fá menn heiman, ok lét heima sitja alla fylgdarmenn sína.¹²⁵

Næsta dag eftir Páskaviku reið Sæmundr heiman við fjórða mann ok með [honum] Guðmundr, bróðir hans, ok Skeggjasynir, Klængr ok Þorsteinn, ok höfðu þat orð á, at þeir mundu ríða í Skál til Helga, vinar síns.¹²⁶ Þeir ríðu föstukveldit á Hörgsland. Þat var á Síðu. Sæmundr átti þar bú. Þar

- 368 Ormssyni] om., w.o. inv. H.
at] om. H.
þeir] hann V.
með] við V.
- 369 heyrði til] hlyddi H.
hafa beðit] inv. H.
- 370–71 margt – hlutum] fleiri annat var þar inn sett ok með alt annars H.
371 til] om. H.
373 þótt] þó H.
vildi] færi at V.
móðurbróður sinn] om. H.
- 374 heldr] om. H.
ok] mjók add. H.
- 375 alla] om., w.o. of rest inv. H.
- 376 Næsta dag] En föstudaginn I; þann næsta dag H; Föstudaginn V; (Chapter CCCXXVIV starts here V; new paragraph Br).
við] með V.
- 376–77 ok með] var í reið með honum I, V.
376–514 reduced to 4–5 lines in 439.
- 377 hans, ok] þeir frændr hans add. I, V.
- 378 ok höfðu – mundu] ætluðu þeir at finna Brand ábóta, sem áðr höfðu I, V. I continues: þeir senzt orð í milli. En síðan ætlaði hann at; V continues: því orð sendst sinn í miðli, enn síðan.
- 378–79 Þeir – Hörgsland] En föstukveldit ríðu þeir á þann bæ, er á Hörgslandi heitir I; for á Hörgslandi V also gives á bæ þann er á Hörgslandi heitir.
- 379 var] er I.
Þat – Síðu] om. H.

fyrir búi var sá maðr, er Sölmundr hét. Sæmundr hafði hann þar fyrir settan, 380
síðan hann tók landit af Hákonni smið Móðólfssyni.

Um kveldit, er þeir gengu frá baði,¹²⁷ mælti Sæmundr við konu þá, er
honum þjónaði, ‘Gnú þú um háls mér þerrunni, því at mér klæjar þar
mjök.’¹²⁸ Hon görði sem hann mælti. ‘Ekki gnýr þú,’ segir hann. Tekr hann
nú dúkinn ok gnýr sem tíðast.¹²⁹ Ekki varð þar fleira til tíðinda.¹³⁰ 385

Um morgininn segir Guðmundr draum sinn.

Þetta spurðisk nú í Kirkjubæ, at þeir Ormssynir væri á Hörgslandi.

Verkmenn í Kirkjubæ stóðu upp at vanda laugardagsmorgininn, ok 13 Apr
spurðu bónda, hvat þeir skyldu göra. Ögmundr mælti. ‘Gangið fyrst til
matar,’ segir hann. Ok er þeir vóru mettir, gengu þeir til Ögmundar. Var 390
hann þá klæddr, ok þótti þeim nökkut undarliga búinn, því at hann var í

379–80 Þar – hét] var Sölmundr þar fyrir búi H.

380 fyrir búi var] inv. I, V.

380 Sæmundr hafði] inv. H, V.

fyrir] om. H.

381 Hákonni] corr. according to I; thus also Vigf and Kå; Helga Br.

382 er] om. H.

383 þjónaði] þerrði I.

Gnú – þerrunni] at hon skyldi gnúa þerrkunni um háls honum sem fastast I.

þar] om. V.

384 hann] hon H.

hann] hon I; om. H.

385 nú] af henni add. V.

Ekki – tíðinda] om. I.

386 sinn] en eigi er eptir tekit add. V.

387 Þetta–nú] Spurðisk um kveldit þegar I.

Ormssynir væri] Sæmundr ok Guðmundr] (obscured by a blot) váru H; um nótt add. I.

388 vanda] sínum add. I.

389 þeir] om. H.

hvat – göra] þeir om., rest inv. H.

390 segir hann] om. H, V.

Ok] en I.

Ögmundar] bónda add. I.

390–91 Var hann] inv. I.

391 þeim] hann V, which om. nökkut.

búinn] om. I.

brynju ok panzara um útan, stálhúfa á höfði ok öll ryðug. Öxi hafði hann í hendi, svartleggju,¹³¹ þá er hann gekk opt með; buklara í annarri hendi. Hann var manna mestr ok sterkastr, vel á sik kominn, ok rauðhárr, þykkr í andliti, digrnefjaðr ok bjúgt nefit, fámæltr hversdagliga. Þar var ok Þórarinn 395 Snorrason ór Ásum, Egill skyrhnakkr, Snorri sveimr, Árni gullskeggr, Brandr Guðmundarson. Þar vóru ok hjá honum synir hans, Jón karl ok Sigmundr. Þessir vóru allir alvópnaðir.

Ögmundr fékk vopn húskörlum sínum, svá at hann gekk út við hinn þrettánda mann, snýr til kirkju ok dvelsk þar litla hríð. Eftir þat gengr 400 Ögmundr eftir geilum austr við þessa menn. Þeir nema nú stað í hvammi einum, skammt frá veginum.

Nú er at segja frá Sæmundi, at þeir rísa upp um morgininn á 13 Apr Hörgslandi ok báðu taka hesta sína. Þeir riðu allir í steindum söðlum. riðu

-
- 392 um útan] om. H.
 hafði hann] om. H.
 393 þá – með] om. H, en add. V.
 í annarri hendi] hendi om. H, V.
 394 kominn, ok] ok om. I.
 394–400 var manna mestr – snýr] skipar mönnum sínum vopn[ast]. Þeir göra svá ok eru nú XIII saman.
 Svá gengu Ögmundr H.
 395 bjúgtnefit] bjúgt nökkut svá nefit I.
 hversdagliga] hversdags I (but hversdagliga in Kā without comment), which adds: þar var þá
 hjá honum Jón karl, sonr hans; hann var ok vápnaðr ok í hringabrynju.
 397 Þar vóru - Sigmundr] om. I.
 398 allir alvópnaðir] inv. I.
 399 vopn – sínum] inv. I.
 400 dvelsk] er H.
 401 eftir – austr] inv. I.
 við þessa menn] om. H.
 Þeir nema] inv. V.
 401–02 hvammi einum] inv. I.
 403 Sæmundi] ok þeim frændum add. I.
 403–04 Nú er – allir] En þeir Sæmundi riðu nú um morgininn fra Hörgslandi ok riðu H. New
 paragraph Br.
 404 sína] ok eptir þat stígu þeir á bak, ok add. I.
 Þeir] om. I.

síðan til Kirkjubæjar ok kómu at því síki er leið liggr til Kirkjubæjar, ok 405
skammt var frá þeim hvammi, er þeir Ögmundr sátu í.

Sæmundr reið þeira fyrstr. Hann var í hálfskiptum kyrtli, rauðum ok
grænum, ok hafði kastað yfir sik söluváð, ok vóru saman saumaðir jaðrarnir,
því at þoka var myrk ákafliga ok hraut ór af vætu, ok stálhúfu á höfði, gyrðr
sverði ok buklara á söðulboga. Hann var meðalmaðr á vöxt, manna 410
kurteisast, ¹³² ljóshærðr ok fülleitr, vel eygðr, nökkut munnljótr ok þó vel
farinn í andliti ok manna bezt knár.

Guðmundr, bróðir hans, reið næst honum, þá Þorsteinn Skeggjason, þá
Klængr; allir vópnaðir. Ögmundr stendr upp, er þeir ríða á síkit, ok bað taka
þá. 415

Þorsteinn Skeggjason mælti þá: ‘Sér þú, Sæmundr, at Ögmundr sitr hér

- 405 síðan] sem leið liggr add. I.
til] í H.
kómu] om. I.
er] sem I.
til Kirkjubæjar] yfir fyrir ofan Kirkjubæ I.
406 var] om. I.
Ögmundr] om. I.
407 hálfskiptum] háflitum I.
408 saman saumaðir] inv. V.
409 myrk – vætu, ok] mikill H.
höfði] ok add. I.
410 á vöxt] vexti I.
411–12 vel eygðr – andliti] ok add., w.o. inv. I; om. H.
412 ok] om. I.
knár] jafn-mikill add. I.
413 bróðir hans] om. H.
honum] Sæmundr H.
Skeggjason] om. H.
414 allir vópnaðir] om. H. This paragraph is a greatly condensed version of what is expanded in I
by the insertion of **Hann – Skeggjasynir**, a section which seems to be displaced in Br. The
section **Guðmundr var – húslaðir verit** (see lines 462–69 of this edition), follows **Sæmundr**
leggsk – orðunum en áðr (lines 457–61) in Br, but logically belongs here. The passage was
possibly displaced in II, where Björn retained it for the accuracy of his transcription whilst
clearly indicating by this brief entry that he thought it belonged here. H and V also place it
here.
416 Skeggjason] om. H.
þá] til Sæmund H.
Sér] Sjá þá sér V.

fyrir oss með marga menn?’

Sæmundr svarar: ‘Hvat kemr til þess?’

‘Er sem má,’ segir Þorsteinn.

Sæmundr ríðr þá fram í götuskarðit.

420

Ögmundr tekr um hann fast báðum höndum, ok vill færa hann af baki, en hann stóð svá fast í stigreipum, at eigi gekk fyrir. En sumir sprettu gjörðunum eðr skáru ór gjörðina.¹³³ En þeir Snorri sveimr ok Brandr Guðmundarson tóku Guðmund af baki. Þórarinn Snorrason ok Árni gullskeggr tóku Þorsteinn af baki.

425

Klængr komsk af síkinu. Hann hljóp af baki ok brá sverði.

Þat sér Egill skyrhnakkr ok leggir til Klængs með spjóti, svá at hann fell þegar á bak aptr í síkit, ok varð honum laust sverðit.

Þá gekk at honum Jón karl,/ok rétti at honum spjót ok bað hann taka *fol.152v* til. Klængr tók spjótskaptit ok mælti. ‘Grið¹³⁴ vilda ek, frændi.’

430

417 oss] við I.

420 þá] om. I.

421–22 Ögmundr tekr – fyrir] Ögmundr gekk á bakkann fram (Gekk Ögmundr þá fram á bakkann V) ok tók báðum höndum um Sæmund fyrir neðan axlir ok ætlaði at færa hann af baki, en (I, V) þat gekk eigi því at hann sté svá í stigreipin fast, er hann reið í standsöðli (I). Tóku þá til þeir aðrir með Ögmundi (I, V).

422 eigi] ekki V.

423 eðr – gjörðina] ok tóku hann svá ofan I; ok tóku þeir svá Sæmund af baki V.

424 Guðmundarson] om. H.

Snorrason] om. H.

424–25 Þórarinn – baki] corr. from I, H and V. In Br, the w.o. is awkward: Þórarinn Snorrason tóku Þorsteinn ok Árni gullskeggr.

426 Hann] ok I.

427 með spjóti] om. H.

428 þegar] om. I.

aptr] om. V.

429 honum] om. I.

karl] In Br fol. 152v starts here.

spjót] -skepti add. I.

429–30 taka til] í taka I; taka í V.

430 Klængr] stóð upp ok add. I.

spjótskaptit] í skaptit I.

‘Vel má þat,’ segir Jón, ‘ok mun ek taka við vópnum þínum.’

Klængr görði svá.

Jón karl gekk at Þorsteinni ok bauð honum grið. Hann tók við vópnum hans.

Þá mælti Sæmundr: ‘Hvat skal fyrirsát þessi, Ögmundr, þar sem við eru sáttir?’ 435

Ögmundr mælti: ‘Þú skalt deyja,’ segir hann, ‘ok svá Guðmundr, bróðir þinn.’¹³⁵

‘Prestsfund vil ek hafa,’ segir Sæmundr.

‘Skömmu muntu prestsfund hafa,’ segir Ögmundr.¹³⁶ 440

‘Gör nú sem guð kennir þér,’ segir Sæmundr.

Jón karl sagði fara skal eftir presti.

Þrír voru prestar á staðnum. Þormóðr hét staðarprestr, annarr Hjalti, þriðri Sæmundr. Nú kómu prestar til, ok báðu þeir þeim griða, ok var Sæmundr prestr harðorðr við ok kvað Ögmund seint mundu fá bætt glæp 445

433 karl] om. I.

Jón – gekk] inv. V; þá add. H, thus also V.

Hann tók] tók hann þá V.

435 fyrirsát þessi] nú add. V, rest inv.

435–36 þar sem – sáttir] Ek hugða, at vér værim menn sáttir I; ek hugða vér mundum nú sáttir V.

437 skalt] nú add. V.

segir hann] om. V.

437–38 mælti – þinn] segir at Sæmundr skyldi þá ekki lengi kunna at segja fra tíðindum I, Jóh (without comment).

439 vil – hafa] vildak fá V.

440 prestsfund hafa] w.o. inv. I; fyrir skömmstu muntu hann haft hafa V.

442 sagði] svarar H; at add. V.

fara – presti] inv. I: at eftir presti skyldi fara.

443–44 Þormóðr – Sæmundr] abb. to Þormóðr, Hjalti ok Sæmundr H.

444 ok var] varð V.

444–45 til – prestr] ok biðja þeir Þormóðr þeim griða en Sæmundr prestr varð I.

445 harðorðr] hraporðr I, H.

við] om. V.

kvað Ögmund] sagði þa I.

mundu] om. H.

fá bætt] inv. I.

sinn, ef þetta gengi fram.¹³⁷

Ögmundr hlýddi á hvat þeir sögðu, ok gaf sik ekki at.

Sæmundr Ormsson bað at hann sendir eftir Brandi ábóta, ok kvaðsk vilja finna hann.

Ögmundr kvað þess enga ván.

450

Ok er engi ván var griða, skriptaðisk Sæmundr við Þormóð prest, en Guðmundr við Hjalta prest. Ok er Sæmundr hafði skriptask,¹³⁸ kastar hann af sér yfirhöfnunni, fell á kné ok leit í gaupni sér, ok bað Guð almáttkan miskunnar. Hann varð bæði við dauðann hjálpvænliga ok þó harðliga.

Ögmundr mælti til Árna gullskeggs: ‘Tak þér öxi, ok högg þú Sæmund, ef hann leggsk eigi niðr.’ 455

Sæmundr leggsk þá til jarðar, ok hafði hendrnar fyrir augum sér. Árni hjó þá á hálsinn, svá at stóð í herðunum, en höfuðit hné af honum.¹³⁹ En þat undruðusk menn, er ekki blæddi líkamanum. Þá sungu prestarnir sjau psalma

-
- 446 gengi fram] færi fram I; skyldi fram fara H.
 447 á hvat] til hvat H, V.
 sögðu] töluðu I.
 sik ekki at] H, V; sér ekki um I.
 448 bað – sendir] bað Ögmund, at senda skyldi I.
 451 ván] kostr I.
 en] var H.
 452 prest] ok tóku báðir þjónustu, hold ok blóð Jesu Christi í sinn líkama. Eptir þat lásu þeir letaniam add. I.
 Ok er – kastar hann] Síðan varp Sæmundr I; Ok tóku báðir þjónustu. Eptir þat lásu þeir letaniam. Síðan varp Sæmundr V.
 453 almáttkan] sér add. I.
 454 bæði] om. V.
 hjálpvænliga – harðliga] inv. þó add. I.
 455 Ögmundr] ok H.
 þér] hér I.
 þú Sæmund] í höfuð Sæmundi I, V.
 456 leggsk] fell I.
 458 at] öxin add. I, V.
 herðunum] sandinum I, V.
 af] at I.
 459 er] at H.

ok Guðmundr með þeim, ok fann ekki á honum annan veg en hann kvað 460
nökkut harðara at orðunum en áðr.

Guðmundr var í bláum kyrtli ok hafði yfirhöfn stríprenda. Hann reið
við alvæpni. Hann var lágr maðr ok sívalvaxinn, herðimikill ok miðmjór, ok
rauðgulr á hár ok hærðr mjök, þykkleitr ok fríðr maðr sýnum, blíðr¹⁴⁰ í
viðræðu. 465

Þorsteinn var meðalmaðr vexti ok fálátr maðr í skaplyndi. Klængr var
hár ok grannligr, ljóss á hár ok vel á sik kominn. Vópnaðir voru þeir báðir
Skeggjasynir. Báðir höfðu þeir bræðr Guðmundar ok Sæmundar húslaðir
verit.¹⁴¹

459–60 Þá – þeim] Guðmundr Ormsson ok prestarnir lásu þá sjau psálma I.

460 ekki – honum] engi maðr, at hann brygði sér nökkut við þessi tíðindi I.
en] hvat add. V.

462–69 The section Guðmundr var í bláum – Sæmundr húslaðir verit, is displaced in Br (see TN 414
and also Kå 127, 13n).

462 Guðmundr] Hann I.

466 Þorsteinn] Skeggjason reið næstr honum. Hann add. I.
Klængr] reið síðast. Hann add. I.

467–68 Vópnaðir – Skeggjasynir] om. V.

468–69 Báðir – verit] om. I; baðir höfðu þeir huglaðir verið aðr Sæmund var veginn inv. with the next
line in H.

Þá var Guðmundr átján vetra.

470

Guðmundr mælti til Ögmundar: 'Gott væri enn at lifa, ok vilda ek grið.'

Ögmundr svarar: 'Eigi megum vér þat, fóstri.' Ok var hann þá rauðr sem blóð.

Guðmundr mælti: 'Skammt liggr sá nú heðan, er þú lézt drepa, at eigi mun einsætt at biðja þik nökkurar lifgjafar.'¹⁴²

475

Gekk Ögmundr frá eftir þat ok settisk niðr ok var mjök þrútinn í andliti.

Jón karl mælti: 'Slíka för skaltu fara, Guðmundr, sem Sæmundr, bróðir þinn.' Jón kvaddi þá til nökkura menn á Guðmund at vinna, en engi vildi þat göra, því at Guðmundr var flestum mönnum þar hugþekkr.

480

Þorsteinn hét maðr, ok var kallaðr hrakauga. Hann hafði sótt korn um daginn, ok kom heim til eldhúsdura. Þar var Illugi bryti. Þorsteinn spurði, hvar menn væri allir.

470 Guðmundr] hann I, H.
vetra] ok er prestr nú höfðu sungt psálmana add. V.

471 Guðmundr mælti] inv. V.
Ögmundar] þá er þeir höfðu lesit psálmana add. I.
grið] fóstri add. I, V.

472 svarar] leit frá ok mælti I.
megum] þorum I, V; mynum H.
vér] nú add. I, V (but w.o. inv.).
svarar – fóstri] leit frá ok mælti: 'Eigi þorum vér nú þat, fóstri minn,' segir hann add. I.

472–73 Ok – blóð] om. H; (ok om. I).

474 mælti] svarar þá I.
Skamt – heðan] w.o. inv. I.

474–75 er – lifgjafar] í brott, at eigi er add. I; (er eigi add. V); betra at sæma við yðr ok lifa eftir hann dauðann add. I, V.

476 mjök þrútinn] inv. I, V.

478 mælti] þá add. I; inv. V: Þá mælti Jón karl.
Sæmundr] om. I, H.

479 á – vinna] at vega at Guðmundi I; w.o. inv. V.

479–80 þat göra] om. I.

480 flestum – þar] inv. H ÈüÈÊ.

481 ok] om. H.
ok – kallaðr] er kallaðr var another inversion in I, V.

Illugi svarar: 'Þat skiptir þik engu. Ok varðveittu reiðinginum, ok fær hestinn á gras.' 485

Þorsteinn skerr þá gagntökin ór klyfberanum ok hrindr ofan klyfjunum ok ríðr síðan austr ór garði til móts við þá Ögmund.¹⁴³

Jón kvað hann hafa skyldu erendi, ok fékk honum þá sömu öxi, er Sæmundr var drepinn með.

Þorsteinn tók við öxinni ok hafði engi orð fyrir. 490

Þá tók til orða Sigmundr, son Ögmundar, ellifu eðr tólf vetra gamall: 'Gör þú, Þorsteinn, þat, sem þeir vilja.'

Guðmundr mælti enn sem fyrr, at gott væri at lifa, en engi svaraði honum.¹⁴⁴ Hann lagðisk þá niðr nær brosand.

Gekk Þorsteinn þá at með reidda öxina. Hann hjó til Guðmundar, ok 495 kom höggit þar er mættisk hálsinn ok herðarnar, ok sneiddi mjök út á herðarblaðit. Var þat allmikit sár. Gekk sú hyrnan miklu lengra niðr, er út

484 Illugi – engu] Illugi svarar om. I; inv., segir for svarar V.

Ok] om. I.

varðveittu] tók af V.

486–87 ór klyfberanum – ór garði] ok hrindr ofan reiðinginum af hestinum ok klyfjunum með. Hljóp hann þá á bak ok hleypti austr ór garði ok fór allt til þess er hann kom I, V (w.o. inv.).

488 kvað – honum] ræddi um, at hann skyldi hafa erendi. Fær Jón í hönd Þorsteini I.

489 drepinn] veginn I; höggvin V.

490 Þorsteinn – fyrir] en hann mæltist undan I; (Vigf (93–94, n3) gives the entire Br text Þorstein tók – Skeggjasynir ... in a footnote with a comment that 'this is partly more minutely told in A [Br] All this seems to be from an eye-witness'; Jóh follows Br).

491 sonr Ögmundar] Ögmundarson I.

ellifu – gamall] inv. I.

491–92 Þá tók – vilja] om. H; Annarr/annat skal/skildu honum verri/vér segir Jón karl add. I, V. This line occurs later in Br (line 507).

493–94 Guðmundr – honum] om. I; Guðmundr mælti inv. H.

494 Hann – nær] enn hann neigði sik til jarðar I, (but inv. with the next sentence).

brosandi] ok bað Guð hjalpa sér add. I, V.

494–500 Hann lagðisk – þessa atburði] Gekk þá Þorsteinn með reidda öxina at Guðmundr, en hann hneigði sik til jarðar brosand ok bað Guð hjalpa sér. Þorsteinn hjó þá neðarlaga á halsinn við herðarblaðit mikit haug ok viku þá flestir í brott fra add. I, en (er V) prestarnir toku til at syngja add. I, V; (Jóh follows Br).

496 er] sem H.

vissi á herðarnar ok á öxlina.¹⁴⁵

[Gengu] þá flestr frá, sem eigi var haldit, ok ætluðu brott at fara, ok þótti þá flestum öllum ærit mikit at vunnit ok fannst mikit um þessa atburði. 500

Þá gekk at Guðmundi Brandr Guðmundarson ok tók hendi sinni ofan í sárit ok vildi vita, hversu djúpt var, ok leitaði með fingrunum. Síðan mælti hann við Ögmund ok Jón, son hans: ‘Eigi vilið þér Guðmund feigan, ef ekki skal meira at vinna.’

Jón kvaddi þá enn til Þorsteins hrakauga, at vinna at honum í annat sinn svá at yfir tæki með öllu, en hann neitti því. 505

Jón kvað honum annan skyldu verra.

Þorsteinn gekk þá aptr til, þar er Guðmundr lá, ok ætluðu flestir hann þá salaðan, þeir sem þar vóru, ok prestar sungu fyrir sál¹⁴⁶ hans. Þorsteinn reiddi þá upp öxina hart ok hátt mjök, ok hjó á hálsinn, svá at af tók höfuðit. 510

Þá gengu þeir félagar frá ok heim.

Líkama Guðmundar blæddi þá mjök.¹⁴⁷ En þeir Skeggjasynir vóru teknir ok byrgðir í einni lítilli stofu. Hann heitir þeim dauða þegar eftir helgina. Þá var af nóni.

499 Gengu] ganga Br.

501 Guðmundi] om. I.

501–12 Þá gekk at Guðmundr – blæddi þá mjök] Þá gekk at Brandr Guðmundarson ok þreifaði ofan í halssárit ok mælti, kvað þá eigi vilja Guðmund feigan, ef þeir gerði eigi at meira. Var þá Þorsteinn til fenginn í annat sinn, ok hjó hann þá af honum hófuðit. Bjugu síðan prestarnir um líkin, I.

503 eigi] ekki V.

505 en til] inv. H.

at] á V.

í] om. V.

508 er] om. H.

510 mjök] om. H, V.

511 heim] en prestarnir bjögu um líkami þeira bræðra add. V.

512 þeir] om. V.

513 byrgðir] rammliga add. I, H.

Hann – þeim] ok var heitit H; (I has ok for hann); ok hét Ögmundr V.

514 Þá] því at þá H.

Síðan skiptu þeir Ögmundr liði sínu. Reið Ögmundr í Þykkvabæ at 515
Svarti Loftssyni, en hann var í eldahúsi, ok var þvegit höfuð hans.

Sveininn Þorkell, son Svarts, mælti, er hann sá mennina ríða í túnit:
'Komin er prestur, faðir,' segir hann.

Svartr gekk þá út. Tók Ögmundr hann þegar.

Svartr heilsaði honum ok spyrr tíðinda. 520

Ögmundr segir sem vóru.

Þá bað Svartr sér griða.

'Eigi skal drepa þik,' segir Ögmundr, 'en handhöggva skal þik.'

'Eigi þykkir mér þat betra en dauði,' segir Svartr.

'Þat skal þó göra, þótt þat þykki þér verra,' segir Ögmundr. 525

'Vilja muntu,' segir Svartr, 'at ek bæta fé fyrir mik, ok fara ek útan ok
koma aldri til Íslands, meðan spyr, at þú lifir.'

'Vel má ek sjá þik,' segir Ögmundr, 'en eigi veit ek, hverjum bezt

-
- 515 sínu] om. I.
Ögmundr] hann V.
515–40 reduced to 4–5 lines in 439.
516 en] om. V.
517 Svarts] hans I, H.
mælti] om. I.
519 út] ok add. I.
þegar] En add. I.
521 segir] slík add. I, H.
523 skal] man ek I.
524 eigi] ekki V.
betra] bettr V.
525 göra] at gera I; þér add. H.
þótt] om. H.
þótt – Ögmundr] inv. I, V.
526 segir Svartr] om. I.
fé fyrir mik] inv. V.
527 meðan] ek add. I.
528 veit ek] enn add. I; má vita V.

vinnask penningarnir.’

Síðan felldi hann Svart ok hélt í fingr framanverða ok bað Árna 530
gullskegg höggva hönd af honum. Árni kvaðsk þat eigi vilja.

‘Þú skalt þat göra,’ segir Ögmundr.

Þá gekk Árni at með reidda öxi.

Ögmundr mælti þá: ‘Högg þú eigi á hönd mér.’

Árni kvaðsk þat vilja víst. 535

Árni hjó þá á hönd Svarti fyrir ofan ulflið, ok tók eigi af. Ögmundr
skaut þá undir buklara. Þá hjó Árni í annat sinn á höndina, þar er handlegg
var digrastr ok tók af þegar. Þá létu þeir hann upp standa. Gekk hann inn
ok varð við hit harðmannligsta. Önnur saga segir: Þá berr Ögmundr hann inn
í stofu ok bindr um höndina ok ríðr síðan.¹⁴⁸ 540

Nú skal segja frá Jóni karli. Hann ríðr við sétta mann upp í Skál at

-
- 529 vinnask] endast I.
530 bað] þá add. I.
531 honum] en add. H.
eigi vilja] illt þykkja I.
532 Þú – þat] Þat skaltú þó I.
533 Þá – Árni] inv. I; at add. H; af add. V.
534 mér] segir hann add. I.
535 víst] mundu I, w.o. inv. V.
536 Árni hjó þá] inv. I; þá om. H.
hönd] -legg add. I.
537 undir buklara] buklara undir höndina I.
á] ok af I.
er] sem I, H.
538 Þá] om. V.
538–39 ok tók – harðmannligsta] om. I; (H has allharðmannligsta.)
539 Önnur – segir] om. I, V; the entire sentence om. H; not commented on by Kå.
540 síðan] eptir þat heim í Kirkjubæ I.
541 Chapter CCCXXVIII V; new paragraph Br.
skal] er at I.
upp] om. I; út V.
at] til I.

Helga. Hann stóð [úti] á hlaði við nökkura menn ok hafði yfir sér kápu. Þá kom Egill skyrhnakkr at ok fékk tekit í kápuna. Helgi lét lausa kápuna ok komsk í kirkju. Þá mælti Egill: 'Þar sá refr rakka, en rakki hafði ekki. Ok skal kirkjan eigi standa fyrir þeim,' segir hann, /'því at hon er óvígð.'¹⁴⁹ *fol. 153r*

Jón kvaðsk eigi mundi draga hann ór kirkju, 'ok munum vér nú eigi söðla svá glæp á óhapp.' Ok ríðu við þat í brott, ok lét Ögmundr ílla yfir þeira ferð.

Þeir Þorsteinn fluttu lík þeira bræðra í kirkju með kennimönnum.¹⁵⁰

Þá sendi Ögmundr menn eftir Brandi ábóta, ok reið hann skjótliga í 550
Kirkjubæ. Ok stóð hann þá yfir grefti þeira bræðra. Ögmundr legggr þetta mál undir Brand ábóta ok þá Skógar Skeggja.

Þeir görðu níu tigu hundraða fyrir hvárn þeira bræðra, en fyrir handhöggit Svarts þrjá tigu hundraða. Skyldi Ögmundr eigi vera þrimr

-
- 542 Helga] Loptssonar add. I.
úti] corr. from I, H, V; eirn [?] Br.
yfir] á V.
sér] om. I.
kápu] Egill skyrhnakkr ríðr upp fyrir austan kirkjuna. Helgi kennir mennina ok gengr til kirkju
add. I.
- 543 skyrhnakkr] om. I.
- 544 komsk] hljóp I.
refr] om. I.
hafði] alls add. I.
- 544–45 Ok skal – er] Þá mælti Egill, at kirkjan mundi eigi standa fyrir honum, er hon var I.
- 545 In Br fol. 153r starts with at hon ..., although the first word is not clear and does not seem to correspond with the transitional halfline on fol. 152v.
- 546 mundi] lata add. I.
nú] om. H, V.
- 547 svá] om. I.
við þat] þeir I.
- 548 þeira ferð] inv. V.
- 549 fluttu] heim add. I.
í] til V.
í kirkju] om. I.
- 551 Kirkjubæ] váru þeir bræðr þá jarðaðir add. I.
hann þá] om. H, V; þá om. I.
bræðra] om. I.
- 553–54 fyrir handhöggit – hundraða] inv. I.
- 554 Skyldi Ögmundr] inv. I.

náttum lengr á Síðu, nema hann færi í klaustr at Þykkvabæ. Jón karl skyldi 555
suðr ganga ok vera útan þrjá vetr. Þeir Þorsteinn hrakauga ok Árni
gullskeggr skyldu útan fara ok koma eigi til Íslands.

Þeir Jón ok Þorsteinn fóru útan á einu skipi ok ætluðu at ganga suðr.
Þá leysir fót undan Jóni í knéliðnum, ok dó hann af því, en Þorsteinn settisk
aptr, ok komsk hann eigi til Íslands. Árni fór útan í skipi Sindra ok lézk þar. 560

Ögmundr galt þetta fé, sem á kveðit var. Þetta vár fór Ögmundr
bygðum sínum í Dal undir Eyjafjöllum ok hafði þá lítil fé ok með honum var
Egill skyrhnakkr ok Snorri sveimr.

En í Kirkjubæ fór Arnórr prestur skryllir at ráði ábóta.

1252

Um sumarit eftir var þingreið mikil norðan ór sveitum. Fjölmenti 565

-
- 555 at] í I.
Þykkvabæ] En add. I.
Fol. 98v, AM 122 A fol., starts with Jón karl ...
- 556 útan þrjá vetr] inv. H.
- 556–57 Þeir – gullskeggr] Þeir Árni ok Þorsteinn I.
- 557 útan fara] inv. I.
eigi] aldri V.
Íslands] meðan þeir lifði add. I; þeir add. H.
- 558 Þeir] om. H.
- 560 hann] om. H.
ok – Íslands] af suðrgöngunni V.
Árni] gullskeggr add. V.
í] á I.
- 561 þetta fé] féit V.
Ögmundr – var] om. I, but incl. by Jóh.
Þetta vár] Um várit I.
- 562 sínum] om. I.
lítil fé] lítil efni I.
ok] om. H.
var] om. I.
- 562–63 ok – skyrhnakkr] Egil skyrhnakkr fór með honum V.
- 564 skryllir] er kallaðr var skull I; skryll V.
ráði] Brands add. I.
En – ábóta] om. H.
- 565 Um sumarit] þetta sumar H.

Eyjólfur Þorsteinsson mjök.¹⁵¹ Hann átti þá bú í Geldingaholti. Hann reið til þings með sex hundrað manna.

Gizurarsynir fjölmentu mjök. Um vetrinn áðr lét Hallr Gizurarson drepa biskupsfrænda Bök á Bersastöðum, er verit hafði fylgdarmaðr Þórðar kakala. Broddi Þorleifsson ok Páll Kolbeinsson¹⁵² gengu [í] milli ok bæendr 570 með þeim, svá at þeir náðu eigi at berjask.

Þat sumar reið Oddr Þórarinnsson til þings ok görði Hrana Koðránsson sekjan skógarmann, fyrir þat er hann laust keyrishögg Filippunn Sæmundarson, þá er Þórðr Sighvatsson sótti hann heim til Hváls. Hrani bauð ekki boð fyrir sik. 575

Um sumarit fundust þeir í Vatnsdal Eyjólfur, Hrafn, Sturla ok Þorleifr, ok angraði þá mjök dráp Sæmundar fyrir sakir mægða ok sambands þess, er Þórðr hafði þá saman bundit, áðr hann fór frá. Görðu þeir þat ráð, at þeir mundu bíða til þess, er skip gengi af Nóregi ok Þórðr kæmi út, eðr hit ella, at

- 565–66 Fjölmenti – mjök] Let Eyjólfur Þorsteinsson, er Þórðr hafði sett fyrir sveitirnar, fjölmenna mjök norðan ór heraðum I; mjök om. H.
 566 Hann átti] Þórðr hafði I; Kå emends Þórðr to hann.
 566–67 til þings] á þing I.
 568 fjölmentu] ok add. I.
 569 biskupsfrænda Bök] inv. H, V; Biskups-Bök I.
 á Bersastöðum] om. H.
 570 kakala] Sighvatssonar I.
 í] om. Br; add. from I, H; á add. V.
 571 eigi] ekki V.
 574 Hváls] En þá höfðu þeir bræðr Filippus ok Haraldr Sæmundarsynir druknat annat sumarit áðr suðr fyrir Minndacseyri. Var þá eigi við Filippus at meta málaferlin við Hrána add. I.
 575 sik] á þinginu, ok riðu menn við þat heim I.
 576 Um] Þat sama sumar V.
 Þorleifr] ór Görðum add. V.
 576–84 Um sumarit fundust – at Laurentiusmessu] This section does not occur in I. Kå includes it according to IIp, with Br as the basis but places it after Um sumarit eptir – ekki boð fyrir sik (see lines 565–75). After this V adds: ok skildist við þat. 439 concludes Svínfellinga saga here and continues with the saga of Þorgils Skarða Boðvarsson.
 577 er] at add. H.
 578 áðr – frá] om. H; (V has utan for frá).
 579 mundu] skildu H.
 til] om. H.
 hit] hins H.

hans væri eigi vánir.

580

Þar var þat talat, ef Gizurr kæmi til, at þeir skyldu halda ríkin fyrir honum, ok hverjum manni öðrum þeim er til kallaði. Þorleifr fór [í] því öllu seinligar, þótti þeim hann vera í öllu slær ok skildusk at því. En Eyjólfur bauð þeim heim öllum í Geldingaholt at Laurentiusmessu.¹⁵³

10 Aug

Um sumarit at Laurentiusmessu var veizla mikil í Geldingaholti. Kom þar til Hrafn Oddsson, Sturla Þórðarson, Þórðr Hítnesingr, Nikulás Oddsson.

Þorleifr í Görðum hafði sent Eyjólfu bréf. Var þat lesit at veizlunni. Sagði hann svá, at Ögmundur Helgason bjó svá nær kirkju, at eigi mundi svá at honum komit, þótt hann vildi á hefnileið róa, at eigi mundi hann skjótt ná kirkju. Þorleifr segir sik traustan ok öruggan til slíks sem þeir vildu upp taka.

590

At afliðinni veizlu ríðu menn í brott. Reið Sturla á Gunnsteinnsstaði um kveldit. Þat var miðviku-aftan fyrir Mária-messu.¹⁵⁴

8 Sept

En er þeir kómu á leið um morgininn, var Sturla hljóðr. Þórðr Hítnesingr spyr, hví hann væri svá hljóðr, en hann kvaðsk hugsa um draum sinn. Þórðr spurði, hvat hann hafði dreymt. Hann [kvað] [sik dreymt] hafa,

595

581 talat] ok samtekit add. V.
til] út V.

582 ok] eðr V.
fór] í add. H.
í] corr. from H; om. Br.

583 seinligar] corr. from V, Ip; seigligar Br.
í] því add. H.

585 Um] Chapter CCCXXX V. The section which follows (Um sumarit at Laurentiusmessu – hverr heim, lines 585–607) does not occur in I or V but is found in Ip. Using Br as the basis of his text, Kå (136, n1) places it at the end of a long section from what he believes is part of Þorgils saga skarða belonging only to II.

590 Þorleifr segir] inv. V.
sem] er V.

595 kvað sik dreymt] kvask Br; the rest of the phrase difficult to read because of a blotch on the paper here. Corr. from V.

at faðir hans kom at honum, ok kvaðsk spyrja hann tíðinda, en hann kvaðsk engi segja ok spurði í móti, ef hann vissi nökkur. En hann kvaðsk engi vita. 'Frétt muntu hafa,' segir Þórðr, 'skip kómu í Eyjafirði, ok er þar á viðbjörn, er Böðvarr á, frændi okkar frá Stað, ok sagt dýr [þetta heldr] úlatt. En er ek vilda spyrja fleira, þá vaknaða ek.' 600

Þórðr spurði, hvat hann hugði þann draum mundi vera. Hann kvaðsk görla vita eðr ætla, at Þorgils Böðvarsson mundi annat hvárt kominn við land eðr koma allbrátt. Þeim þótti þetta líkligt. Þá spurði Þórðr, hví hann hefði svá fár verit í Geldingaholti. Sturla segir: 'Því at mér er þar viðbjóðr við öllu, ok alt kom mér þar verr at haldi en veitt var. En eigi kemr mér þat at óvörum þótt eigi sé enn búit um skipti vár Eyjólf.' 605

Eftir þetta reið hverr heim.

Gizurr Þorvaldsson¹⁵⁵ var þessar stundir með Hákonu konungi. Síðan 19 Apr hann fór útan um sumarit eftir Haugsnessfund,¹⁵⁶ hafði hann jafnan nökkura 1246 sýslu, hvárt er konungr sat suðr eðr norðr. 610

Ok er Þórðr Sighvatsson hafði einn vetr verit í Nóregi eftir Haugsnessfund, þá fór Þórðr til Íslands, sem fyrr var ritað, en Gizurr var þá eftir í

-
- 596 kvaðsk] hann add. V.
 599 þetta heldr] corr. from V; inv. Br.
 601 mundi vera] inv. V.
 603 líkligt] glíklígt V.
 604 er] var add. V.
 605 at] om. V.
 606 þótt] þó V.
 sé enn] en sé Kå.
 608 Chapter CCCXXXI V.
 609–12 hafði hann – þá] om. V.
 611 Sighvatsson] ok Gizurr Þorvaldsson add. I.
 612 Þórðr] út add. I; Sighvatsson add. V.
 var] er I, V.
 þá] om. H.

Nóregi ok undi illa við sinn hlut. Var honum fés kort mikill, en uggði mjök um frændr sína ok vini, at Þórðr mundi þeim harðr verða í horn at taka. Réð Gizurr þat þá af, at hann fór af landi brott ok gekk suðr til Róms. 1247

Broddi Þorleifsson var þá útan, ok fóru þeir Gizurr báðir samt út til páfa, ok nökkurir menn saman. Þá var Innocentíus páfi í Rómani. Gizurr fékk þá lausn allra mála sinna.

Þá var Eiríkr konungr í Danmörk, Valdimarsson. Valdimarr var þá Svía konungr.¹⁵⁷ 620

Þeir fóru af landi í brott með Gizuri Önundr biskupsfrænda, Þorleifr hreimr, systurson hans, Auðunn kollr, Árni beiskr.¹⁵⁸ Ok kómu allir heilir heim aptr til Nóregs.

Nú fara margar sögur saman jafnfram, ok má eina senn rita. Mun nú um sinn sagt frá Þorgilsi skarða;¹⁵⁹ ok koma þessar sögur þar saman er þeir koma út Heinrekr biskup ok Gizurr ok Þorgils. Þat sumar, er áðr um várit, 625

613 illa – hlut] lítt sinum hluta I.

Var] ok varð V.

614 mjök] nú I.

verða] om. I.

617 ok] þeir add. I.

618 þá] þár V.

mála sinna] inv. I.

619 Valdimarsson] om. H.

620 Svía konungr] Birgisson add. I; konungr í Svíþjóð V.

621 í] á I, om. V.

Önundr] Ögmundr H.

622 kollr] kollni[r] H.

beiskr] þeim gekk alt vel suðr ok sunnan add. V.

Ok] þeir I.

623 heim] om. I.

624–25 Nú fara – er þeir] Eptir þat H.

624–27 Nú fara – á bréf] om. I. V moves this section right to the end: Ok her eptir fylgir fara her nu margir sögur saman jafnfram ok má eina senn rita. Mun nú um sinn sagt verða frá Þorgils Skarða ok koma þessar sögur þar saman er þeir koma út Heinrekr biskup ok Gizur ok Þorgils þat sumar er Ormssynir váru vegnir áðr um várit.

626 Þorgils] Skarði add. H.

vóru Ormssynir vegnir. Þetta [er] í kunnari sögu ok kemr flest fram á bréf.

Ok er Gizurr hafði þrjá vetr verit í Nóregi, þá fékk hann orlof af 1252
Hákoni konungi at fara til Íslands. Fóru þeir út á einu skipi ok Heinrekr
biskup Kársson ok margt íslenzkra manna. Þar var Þorgils skarði 630
Böðvarsson, Finnbjörn Helgason, Arnórr Eiríksson ok margt annarra
íslenzkra manna. Þat skip kom at Gásum í Eyjafirði; því skipi stýrði Eysteinn
hvíti. Þeir sögðu út hingat andlát Sigurðar Erkebiskups. Hafði hann um
vetrinn andast sex nóttum fyrir Gregoriusmessu. Var þá Sörli¹⁶⁰ kosinn til 6 Mar
erkibiskups. 635

Gizuri var skipaðr mjök svá allr Norðlendingafjórðungr, en Þorgils
skarða allr Borgarfjörðr, Finnbirni Reykjadalr, ok þaðan norðr til Jökulsár.

Þar kom ok þa til skipsins Brandr ábóti Jónsson. Hann var fyrir öllum
kennimönnum, um alla biskupssýslu Sigurðar biskups.

Brátt ríðu þeir allir fjölmennir vestr til Skagafjarðar. Var þá fundr 640
stefndr fjölmennr á Hestapingshamri. Vóru þar upp lesinn konungsbréf, ok
játtu allir fúsliga at taka við Gizuri at höfðingja yfir sik. Eyjólfur Þorsteinsson
var ok á þeim fundi ok fylgdarmenn hans, ok fannst fátt til Gizurar.

-
- 627 vóru] þeir add. H.
vegnir] H ends here. The next three pages are blank, but numbered (pp. 658, 659, 660). The
new heading on p. 661 is *Saga af Þorgils Skarða*.
628 hafði – verit] inv. V.
Nóregi] eptir Romför sina add. V.
629 fara] sigla V.
630 biskup] Kársson add. V.
Kársson] om. I.
margt – manna] margir aðrir Íslandskir menn V.
632 skipi] om. V.
633–34 um – andast] inv. V.
637 allr] om. I.
638 öllum] om. I.
639 biskups-] om. V.
Sigurðar] Sigvarðar V.
642 at] til V.
643 fannst] honum add. V.

Þá vóru kærleikar með þeim Heinreki biskupi ok Gizuri. Gizurr sendi menn suðr til sona sinna, at þeir skyldu koma til móts við hann í Vinverjadal með sjau tigi manna. En hann valði lið ór Skagafirði, sex tigi manna, ok þeir ríðu með honum suðr í Vinverjadal.¹⁶¹ 645

Kómu þar synir Gizurar til móts við hann þrír, Hallr, Ísleifr, Ketilbjörn. *fol. 153v* Var hann þá átján vetra; hinir vóru elldri. Allir vóru sköruligr menn at sjá. Varð þar mikill fagnaðarfundr með þeim feðgum ok öðrum vinum Gizurar. 650 Skagfirðingar ríðu þá norðr aptr, en Gizurr suðr, ok sat hann í Kallaðarnesi um vetrinn ok hafði fjölment um sik.

Þá um haustit, er Brandr ábóti kom suðr til sveita, görði Gizurr brúðlaup til Gróu Álfisdóttur, móðir þeira Halls ok Ísleifs.¹⁶² Var þat þá samþykki kennimanna, ok at því brúðlaupi var Brandr ábóti. Heinrekr 655 biskup fór heim til Hóla til stóls síns. En Þorgils skarði reið suðr til Borgarfirðar ok tóku héraðsmenn við honum ok heldr fálíga. Hann sat í Stafaholti um vetrinn, ok hafði margt röskva manna með sér. Þá var með honum Arnórr Eiríksson, Bergr Ámundason¹⁶³ ok margt annarra manna. Finnbjörn reið norðr til Reykjadals, ok var um vetrinn á Grenjaðarstöðum. 660 Eysteinn hvíti, stýrimaðr, var um vetrinn á Hólum með Heinreki biskupi.

Þetta sumar, er Gizurr kom út, sendi Þórðr Sighvatsson út til Íslands 1252

646–47 þeir ríðu] inv. V.

648 In Br fol. 153v starts with til móts

649 átján] fjórtán I.

vóru] þeir add. V.

sjá] sér V.

658 Stafaholti] *Kā* (134, n1) observes that the following repeated information does not correspond with *Þorgils saga skarða* and may be derived from a different source of the mentioned saga. (See also Olsen 1897: 336–37.)

659 Arnórr] Árni V.

660 um vetrinn] om. V.

662 er] þeir add. I.

út] om. V.

Kolbeinn grön ok Ara Ingimundarson¹⁶⁴ til vina sinna. Kómu þeir út suðr á Eyrom ok fóru þaðan vestr um sveitir til þeira Hrafns Oddssonar ok Sturlu Þórðarsonar. Hrafn bjó þá at Sauðafelli í Dölum, en Sturla á Staðarhóli. 665 Vigfús Gunnsteinsson bjó í Garpsdal. Hann átti Guðnýju Sturludóttur. Brátt er Kolbein ok Ari kómu vestr, þá fundust þeir allir jafnsaman, Sturlu, Hrafn, Vigfús ok aðrir vinir Þórðar, ok réðu þá atföer at Gizuri, ok fóru um vetrinn fyrir jól suðr á sveitir með sjau tigu manna.

Í þeirri ferð vóru margir röskvir menn. En þeir vóru fyrir ferðinni með 670 áeggjan Kolbeins, Hrafn ok Sturlu. Þeir kómu á óvart í Stafaholt til Þorgils ok brutu þar upp hurðir. Þeir Þorgils hljópu upp ok fylgðarmenn hans. Hrafn vildi láta drepa Þorgils, en Sturla vildi þat eigi.

664 um] í I.

665 á] at V.

667 er] þeir add. V.

668 Þórðar] þeira V.

673 Br ends with the following words: *Les hér um görr í sögu Þorgils*. Then follows the heading *Saga af Þorgils skarða*. In V, the next page has the heading *Islendinga saga hin mikla. Þátr Þorgils Skarða Böðvarssunar*.

GENERAL NOTES

These general notes provide lexical, historical and literary background to the text as well as a discussion of significant differences between the various manuscripts and editions.

- 1 **Hákon Hákonarson** (1204-1263), the illegitimate son of Hákon Sverrison and nicknamed 'the Old' to distinguish him from his son, Hákon 'the Young' (who died, before his father, in 1257), was elected king of Norway in 1217, and died on 15 December 1263 in the Orkneys, whence his body was transported to Norway. He was succeeded by his son Magnús. He was married to Margrét, the daughter of Skúli (jarl) Bárðarson, in 1225.

Believing in the divine power of kings, he asked for Cardinal Vilhjálmr of Sabina to preside at his coronation in Bergen in 1247. During the greater part of Hákon's reign there was practical cooperation between the archbishop and the kingdom; hereditary succession to the throne was established in 1223 and confirmed at his coronation.

Hákon maintained connections with Europe and England and wanted to model Norway on the leading European nations. Like the ninth-century King Alfred of Wessex, he was chiefly responsible for a renaissance in the literature and learning of his country. He introduced chivalric ideals in Norway and commissioned translations of contemporary European chivalric literature, for instance *Tristrams saga* and the collection of tales called *Strengleikar* –short *lais* identified with Marie de France (Kristjánsson 1988: 319, 327). These translations were not only a significant influence on the Norse cultural milieu, but also influenced Icelandic literature like the *Íslendingasögur* and the *Riddarasögur*.

From 1220 Hákon had tried to subjugate the Norse Islands in the West. Through the chieftains in Iceland, who were also his retainers, and the influence of the church he gradually gained control over the *goðorð*. In 1262 the Greenlanders agreed to pay tribute and thanegeld to the king of Norway and in 1262–1264 Iceland and Greenland were subjected to the kingdom of Norway. There had been trouble in the Hebrides and the Isle of Man throughout his reign and in 1262 the Scots under Alexander III attacked the islands. Hákon attacked Scotland with a mercenary force in 1263 but during

the ensuing Battle of Largs did not manage to secure Norwegian control over the islands. With the Treaty of Perth (1266) Norway ceded the Hebrides to Scotland. Norway retained the Orkneys and the Shetlands until these were acquired by Scotland two hundred years later. After the battle Hákon went to the Orkneys where he died in the winter of 1263. (Jóhannesson 1974; Jónas Kristjánsson 1988: 314–319; Pulsiano 1993: 258).

- 2 Cardinal Vilhjálmr of Sabina came to Norway in 1247 when he crowned king Hákon Hákonarson as king of Norway. His words on this occasion ‘probably reflect the attitude towards Iceland in the king’s circle. The cardinal said that “it was unreasonable that that country [Iceland] did not serve under a king like all the other countries in the world” (Sturla Þórðarson’s *Hákonar saga [gamla] Hákonarsonar*)’. Vilhjálmr died on 31 March 1251 (Magnús Stefánsson in Pulsiano 1993: 317).

- 3 Ecclesiastical coronation was unknown before king Magnús Erlingsson became the first Norse king to be consecrated by the church (1164); in Denmark, the first such coronation was the double ceremony where the murdered father of Valdimarr I, Knútr lávarðr, was elevated to sainthood and Valdimarr’s young son Knútr was crowned as future king.

Full ecclesiastical coronations introduced in Norway and Denmark were a sign of the increasing power of the church and the inability of tribal leaders to solve the problem of succession. In return for the ecclesiastical coronation of Magnús Erlingsson, the church received extensive privileges from the young king and his father. Similar demands were made by native churchmen in 1247 as a condition for the coronation of Hákon Hákonarson by Vilhjálmr of Sabina, but the monarchy was strong enough by then to decline the offer.

The complex coronation ritual combined biblical and Roman themes. During the ceremony the candidate swore an oath, was robed in special clothing, bore the royal insignia, including the crown, and was anointed with holy water (Pulsiano 1993: 108).

- 4 **Pope Innocentius IV** (1243–1254) was succeeded by Alexander IV

(1254–1261). The omission, in **Br**, of **En þrím vetrum – Þórðr kakali** causes an ambiguity in the time sequence, as if all the events occurred in the same year, i.e. 1247. The fifth year of the papacy of Innocentius was 1247, and Sturla was chosen as lawspeaker in 1250, also the year when Árne oreiða died. This omission could thus not have been made for stylistic reasons but seems evidence of careless copying.

- 5 In heathen times laws were not written down, so that the law-man had to recite the law from memory to the assembly from the Law Rock at the **alþingi** or parliament; hence in the Icelandic Commonwealth he was called **lögsögumaðr**, ‘law-speaker’. At the union with Norway the **lögsögumaðr** was replaced by two lawmen or justices of the Norse kind, so that in sagas written after this date or preserved in later transcripts (such as **Br**), the two terms were sometimes confused. Thus **Br** and **I** anachronistically use **lögmaðr** for the **lögsögumaðr** of the old Commonwealth, either as the result of a scribal error, where **lögsögumaðr** was probably intended, the copying of an error in the original text or the influence of the introduction of the word after 1262. In English the idea of the lawspeaker of the old Scandinavian communities has been preserved in the name of the Speaker in the House of Commons (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 405). (For a discussion of the **alþing**, see GN 23.)

- 6 Sturla Þórðarson (29 July 1214 – 30 July 1284) was a grandson of Hvamm-Sturla, the father of the Sturlungs, and the illegitimate son of Þórðr Sturluson, a major chieftain. He was lawspeaker, **lögsögumaðr** (1251), lawman, **lögmaðr** (1272–1282), and historian, the compiler of the oldest extant version of **Landnámabók** (‘The Book of Settlements), i.e. **Sturlubók**, the chief source of information on the colonization of Iceland, **Íslendinga Saga** (‘History of the Icelanders’), which covers in detail the period from 1183–1242, **Magnúss saga lagabætis**, **Kristni saga** and **Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar**, a chronicle of the reign of king Hákon Hákonarson of Norway (1217–1263), which was commissioned by King Magnús Hákonarson.

Sturla joined his uncle Snorri in 1235 and they became close. Sturla was married to Helga Þórðardóttir, Narfason, a niece of Skarð-Snorri.

In the last twenty years of his life he was an acknowledged authority on his native law and, following Iceland’s incorporation into Norway (1264),

King Mágnus Hákonarson (1263–1280) appointed him a member of the commission revising provincial law. In 1272 he returned to Iceland with the first codification of the amended law, the so-called *Járnsíða*, ‘iron side’ (Pulsiano 1993: 613–14).

- 7 **Árni Magnússon óreiða**, ‘the unruly, quarrelsome or unready’, first of Brautarholti and later of Saurbæ, died on 23 November 1251. He was married briefly to Hallbera, the daughter of Snorri Sturluson. Árni was a close friend of King Hákon, and elevated to the rank of *hirðmaðr*, ‘retainer’. He was the carrier of the fateful letter from king Hákon which caused another former son-in-law of Snorri, Gizurr Þórvaldsson, to lead the fatal attack on Reykjaholt during the night of 23 September 1241 in which Snorri Sturluson was killed (See Introduction, pp. xv–xvi; Jóhannesson 1974; Pulsiano 1993: 602–03).

- 8 The word *prestr* was borrowed through the English missions from the A.S. *preost*, Engl. *priest*, as is seen from the dropping of the inflexive *r* or *er*, whereas the Germ. has *priester*, O.H.G. *priestar*, from the Lat. *presbyter*.

- 9 **Brandr Jónsson**, a descendant of the Ásbirnings on his mother’s side, was one of the sons of Jón of Svínafell, cousin of the Sturlungs. Consecrated as abbot of Þykkvabær in 1247, he went to Niðaróss in 1262 to be consecrated as bishop of Hólar on 4 March, 1263 (Jóhannesson 1974: 279). Thus for some time the episcopal seats in the country were once again occupied by Icelanders. It seems that King Hákon may have felt that at this stage he could afford the Icelanders their wish of having their own countrymen as bishops as there could hardly be any doubt that his policies of gaining control in Iceland would prevail (Jóhannesson 1974: 280). Brandr was one of the well-known members of the brotherhood of the Augustinian monastery at Þykkvabær (Jóhannesson 1974: 196). He was the author of *Alexanders saga* (from Galterus de Castellione’s *Alexandreis*) and translator of apocryphal historical material at the behest of King Magnús Hákonarson of Norway, namely his *Gyðinga saga*, ‘History of the Jews’. This was based on *I Maccabees* and Josephus’s *Antiquities of the Jews* and *War of the Jews* (I am grateful to Dr Hermann Pálsson for this information). Bishop Brandr died in

1264 (see also Pulsiano 1993: 254, 531, 611). The omission, in Br, of the attributes *ríkr ok góðgjarn* in his description could be either to abbreviate the text or a scribal oversight.

- 10 The word *ábóti* is closer to the English abbot than to the Latin *abbas*, from the Hebrew *abba*.
- 11 Cleasby et al. (1991: 40) remark that *ágætr* is used in a peculiar sense in *Landnamabók*, 'viz. 'a noble man', nearly synonymous with *gæðingr* in the Orkneys, or *hersir* in Norway. (See pp. lxxxii–lxxxv for a discussion of the importance for the translator of an awareness of the social and political context of the sagas.)
- 12 **Halldóra Arnórsdóttir**, the second wife of the priest Jón Sigmundarson, came from a prominent ecclesiastical family and was the mother of bishop Brandr of Hólar and the sister of Kolbein kaldaljós, 'phantom'. Halldóra's mother, **Guðrún Brandsdóttir**, was the daughter of bishop Brandr the elder, and grandmother of Brandr the younger, bishop of Skálholt. Guðrún was first married to Halldóra's father, Arnórr, and then to Páll.

Iceland had two sees, one at Skálholt, established in 1056; the other at Hólar, in the North, founded in 1106. They were united in the nineteenth century and the see removed to Reykjavík. During the two hundred years of the commonwealth till the middle of the thirteenth century, the bishops of Skálholt and Hólar were elected by the people or the magnates, usually in parliament and in the *lögregta*. Magnús Gizurarson (died 1237) was the last popularly elected bishop of Skálholt; bishop Guðmundr (died 1237), of Hólar; thereafter the bishops were imposed by the king of Norway or the archbishop. In 1238 the Norwegian bishops Sigvarðr Thétmarsson (Skálholt) and Canon Bótólfur (Hólar) were consecrated. This marked the beginning of a new, important epoch in the history of the Icelandic Church. These bishops tried to introduce the laws and customs of the Universal Church, virtually ignoring the laws and customs of Iceland and increasing Norwegian influence in Iceland (Jóhannesson 1974: 216).

Brandr Sæmundarsson, Bishop of Hólar, was consecrated in 1163 by archbishop Eysteinn and died on 6 August 1201.

- 13 In the Icelandic Free State, a *goði* or *goðorðsmaðr* was the holder of a *goðorð* or ‘chieftaincy’, a position of political and social preeminence among the free landowners or *boendr* (sing. *bóndi*). The official duties of the *goðar*, sometimes called *höfðingjar*, ‘leaders’ (sing. *höfðingi*), primarily involved the functioning of the legal system.

The *goðar* were required to convene the local springtime district assembly or *várþing*; each such assembly included three *goðorð*. At the *alþingi*, the annual national assembly, the *goðar* were the voting members of the *lögretta*. After the quarter courts or *fjórðungsdómar* were established during the constitutional reforms in the mid-960s, the *goðar* nominated judges for the *alþingi* courts. The *goðar* also nominated judges to the court of appeals or *fimtardómr* after its establishment in the eleventh century.

The executive duties of the *goðar* included conducting the *féránsdómr* or ‘court of confiscation’ to confiscate the property of someone who had been outlawed and the carrying out of legal sentences upon request of his *boendr*. At the founding of the *alþingi* (ca. 930) the number of *goðorð* was fixed at thirty-six, and this number was increased to thirty-nine in about 965.

A *goði*’s relationship with his *þingmenn* was a contract that could be cancelled from either side. A *þingmaðr* accompanied his *goði* to assemblies, or else paid a thing-attendance tax or *þingfararkaup* to defray the travel costs of those who attended.

A chieftain’s authority derived from control over all or part of his *goðorð*, but his power was based on overlapping networks of political, friendship and kinship ties. A *goði* counted on his *þingmenn* for manpower in pursuing feuds, exerting pressure in court cases and carrying out legal sentences. A *bóndi* could seek his chieftain’s aid in bringing his case before the court, enforcing his rights and carrying out his feuds. *Goðar* also fulfilled an important economic function – holding feasts, giving gifts, making loans, extending hospitality, fixing prices, distributing land.

By the thirteenth century a smaller group of ‘large’ *goðorð* or ‘large leaders’ (*stórgoðar*, *stórhöfðingjar* in modern scholarship) emerged as five or six families gained control of all the country’s *goðorð*. After 1220, these families fought among themselves, seeking regional and in some instances national supremacy. Many of these leaders became retainers of the Norwegian king, but their aspirations for independent rule were frustrated when Iceland submitted to the Norwegian monarch in 1262–1264 (Pulsiano

1993: 230–31). (See also Introduction, pp. iii–x.)

- 14 Br uses the later form, *úr*, which has been standardized to *ór* in the current edition (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 472).

- 15 Ormr Jónsson the younger was married to Álfheiðr Njálisdóttir. His brothers were Bishop Brandr of Hólar and Þórarinn, his sisters were Solveig and Steinunn, and he was the father of Sæmundr and Guðmundr. Another son, named Ormr for his father, was born after Ormr's death on 5 September 1241. It was this Ormr who, at the *alþing* in 1264, swore on behalf of the men of Síða to pay tribute to the kings of Norway (Jóhannesson 1974: 280). Ormr Jónsson's daughters were Þóra and Oddný, who was illegitimate. Ormr's death set in motion the events related in *Svínfellinga saga*.

Sæmundr Ormsson of Svínafell was married to Ingunn Sturludóttir and was slain on 13 April 1252 with his brother Guðmundr Ormsson, who was eighteen years old. Þórarinn Jónsson was the illegitimate son (*launsonr*) of Jón and Gróa Teitsdóttir and father of Oddr and Þorvarðr. He was married to Helga Digr-Helgadóttir and died in 1239. Þorvarðr Þórarinnsson was married to Solveig Halfdanardóttir and died on 31 March 1296. His brother Oddr Þórarinnsson was married to Randalín Filippusdóttir and was slain at Geldingaholt on 14 January 1255.

- 16 The older form *búandi* is an active participle turned into a noun substantive from *búa* (A.S. *buan*, German *bauer*), meaning 'to prepare' or 'to fix one's abode' and therefore originally 'a tiller of ground, husbandman', but it always involved the sense of ownership and included all owners of land. In England it came to mean 'the master of the house' (A.S. *bond* and *husbond*, Engl. *husband*). In the more despotic Norway and Denmark, as in continental Europe, *bóndi* became a word of contempt, denoting the common, low people, in contrast with the king and his men or *hirð*.

In medieval Iceland, everyone was required by law to be domiciled in the household of a *bóndi*. Such a household legally existed wherever an individual farmer owned either land or milking stock. Farmers who owned a legislated minimum of property (the value of a cow, a boat, a horse, or a net for each member of the household) were called *þingfararkaupsboendr* 'thing-

tax-paying farmers' and were required to pay the *þingfararkaup*, 'thing-attendance tax'. *Bœndr* could choose their chieftain and were known as his *þingmenn*. They had to accompany their *goði* to the *várþing*, 'spring assembly', and a ninth of his followers had to accompany him to the *Alþingi* (Pulsiano 1993: 51–52; GN 13; Introduction, pp. iv–vi).

- 17 **Helgi Þorsteinsson** (*Digr-Helgi*), *staðarhaldari* (keeper of the church establishment) of *Kirkjubær*, died before the events of this story, in 1235. Mentioning him here as if he was still alive at the time is either an error or a telescoping of time to give a complete genealogy of his family and especially of *Ögmundr*, one of the main protagonists of the saga.

Ögmundr Helgason, the son of *Digr-Helgi* of *Kirkjubær* in *Síða*, was married to *Steinunn Jónsdóttir*. He was the warden of the monastery at *Kirkjubær*. *Br* (and 439) omits one of their sons, *Guðmundr griss*, great-grandson of *Guðmundr griss* the elder of *Þingvöllr* and *Solveig Jónsdóttir*, who died on 22 February 1210. *Ögmundr*'s brothers were *Þorstein*, *Arnórr* (abbot in *Viðey*, 1247–1249), *Sokki*, who died in 1239, and *Finnbjörn*, who was married to *Oddný Ormsdóttir* (incorrectly given as *Jóns-*, *Joh*: 44. *ættskrá*) of *Svínafell* and died on 29 September 1255.

The summary in 439 foregrounds *Ögmundr* here to sustain focus on the main protagonists of the saga – *Sæmundr*, *Guðmundr*, *Ögmundr*, and his wife *Steinunn*, the aunt of *Sæmundr* and *Guðmundr*.

Landnámabók (Benediktsson 1968: 325) asserts that *papar* (priests) were living at *Kirkjubær* in *Síða* when *Ketill hinn fíflski*, 'the foolish', a Norwegian, came to Iceland and settled there. The name *Kirkjubær* indicates that a church was built there very early, either by the *papar* or by *Ketill*. *Ketill* was a Christian, and his nickname reflects the contempt that some people had for Christians at the founding of the Icelandic Commonwealth (Jóhannesson 1974: 123). The only nunnery established during the Commonwealth period was the one at *Kirkjubær*, belonging to the Benedictine Order and founded in 1186, where the first abbess was ordained in 1189. Maintaining the nunnery was difficult and its financial resources were inadequate. In about 1218 it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Skálholt*. It seems to have been discontinued for a while, but was restored in the thirteenth century when Bishop *Árni Þorláksson* consecrated

his niece Agatha Helgadóttir as abbess (Jóhannesson 1974: 198).

- 18 **Skeggi Njálsson** (**Mársson** in **Br**) of **Skógar** (**Skóga-Skeggi**) was married to **Solveig Jónsdóttir**, the grand-daughter of **Solveig Halfdanardóttir**, and died on 24 August 1262. He was the brother of **Álfheiðr**, **Ormr Jónsson**'s wife.

Br's omission of the qualifying phrase *góðr bóndi*, relating to **Guðmundr Þorsteinsson**, could be for the sake of abbreviation or a scribal oversight.

- 19 **Helgi Loftsson** (**Br** has **Jónsson**) of **Skál** was married to **Ásbjörg Þorlákssdóttir**, the sister of bishop **Árni Þorláksson** (*fyrri* 'the elder'), who was bishop of **Skálholt** from 1269 and died on 17 April 1298. The sons of **Helgi** and **Ásbjörg** were **Loftr Helgason**, **Bjarni Helgason** and **Magnús Helgason**, who were priests, and **Árni Helgason** (*síðari* 'the second'), who was bishop of **Skálholt** from 1304 and died on 21 January 1320. Perhaps for the sake of economy, or for greater focus on the main characters in the story (in this case **Helgi**'s brother **Svartr**), **Br** does not mention their daughters. These were **Guðný Helgadóttir**, who was married to **Þórðr Halsson** of **Möðruvellir** (died 1312), **Þórdís** (or **Þuríðr**, as she is identified in the saga about Bishop **Árni** and also recorded as **Agatha**, Abbess of **Kirkjubær** – see **Kå:** 108n; **Joh:** 300n) **Helgadóttir**, **Halldóra Helgadóttir**, and **Agatha abbadis** (**Kå:** 108n; **Joh:** 300n). **Svartr Loftsson** was the brother of **Helgi** in **Skál**, and married to **Astríðr Guðmundardóttir**.

- 20 There is a slight difference in the meaning of the two expressions used for **Snorri sveimr** in **Br** and in **I**: *lítillsháttar* (**Br**) reflects on the social standing of the man, meaning that he was 'lowly, or of little consideration'; *lítill bóndi* suggests that, even though he was wealthy, he was 'no great farmer'. This lexical difference seems to suggest a definite authorial point of view not entirely in agreement with the common view of the 'impartial or neutral' narrator. **Vinr** 'is *par excellence* a Scandinavian word, *frændi* being used only in the sense of "a kinsman"' (Cleasby et al. 1991: 709), not 'a friend', as in A.S. (*freond*), Engl. (*friend*), Germ. (*freund*). **Snorri sveimr** is only mentioned in *Svínfellinga saga*.

- 21 Essentially the same information is given in both **Br**, lines 31–32 (in 17 words), and **I** (in 22 words), although the style in **Br** is rather awkward on account of the abbreviation.
- 22 Marginal notes in **439** and **V** place these events in 1241.
- 23 **Þing** is a standard Scandinavian word for any public meeting, especially for the purpose of legislation, ‘a parliament’, including courts of law. A **þing** was also the political division of a country and in later times Iceland was divided into counties. In the old days every community or ‘law’ had its own assembly or parliament, whence the double sense of **lög** as well as of **þing**. In Norway the later political division into **þings** and constitution date from the time of King Hákon the Good.
- In Iceland, old sources mention only two district-assemblies or **þings** on the Norwegian model before the establishment of the **alþingi** during the first half of the tenth century, those at Þórsness and Kjalarness.
- The **alþingi** met annually at Þingvöllr, by the river Öxará, from its inception (recorded by most sources as 930) until 1798, after which it moved to Reykjavík. It was disbanded in 1800. Ari Þorgilsson says that the **alþingi** commenced on the Thursday in the ninth week of summer until the year 999, and thereafter in the tenth week of summer, i.e. about midsummer. Until about the thirteenth century the assembly lasted for two weeks, thereafter it was a little shorter. (See also GN 5, 13, 16, 79 and the Introduction, pp. vi–viii.) **Br** uses **þingi** instead of **alþingi** (line 33), but it can be assumed that this would not have caused confusion to the thirteenth-century audience.
- 24 **Helgi læknir** of Másstaðir died in 1243. The difference in the wordings of **Br** and **I** suggests a slightly different relationship between Helgi and Ormr: **hann lét senda ...** (**I**) implies a more authoritative action on Ormr’s part, whereas **þá kom til hans ...** (**Br**, line 34) indicates a friendly gesture towards Ormr by the physician.
- 25 Old Icelandic writers usually make a distinction between **ekki**, neut. adj. (Latin **nullum**, **nihil**) and **eigi** (Latin **non**); but in mod. usage **ekki** has, as adv.,

taken the place of *eigi* (whilst *ekkert* is used as the neut. adj.), e.g. *ekki góðr*, *ekki vel*, where the oldest writers use *eigi góðr*, *eigi vel*; this use of *ekki* is, however, very old and frequently occurs (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 119). In most cases *ekki* and *eigi* are difficult to distinguish because of the contraction in MSS; editors commonly print *eigi*. However, Br generally clearly distinguishes the two words.

- 26 Br's assertion, *Þat segja sumir menn – sóttina at honum* (lines 35–37), which is not made in I, suggests that people blamed Ögmundr Helgason for Ormr's illness and adds a significant implicit comment on the role of Ögmundr in the subsequent events.
- 27 The assertion that in Iceland, where all land-travelling used to be on horseback, *ríða* has become almost synonymous with 'to journey, travel', adding the road or way in the accusative (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 498), is false. The verb normally has the sense of travelling on horseback.
- 28 The second feast day of Mary (Nativity) is celebrated on 8 September; thus Ormr died on 5 September.
- 29 Icelandic religious houses were of two kinds: churches (*kirkjur*) and chapels (*bænahús*). The distinguishing feature was whether or not there was a burial ground attached to them. The maintenance of churches was the responsibility of the individual owners of church estates. When a church was moved, the owner of the church estate had to transfer all corpses and bones from its graveyard to the new burial ground, or, if the church was no longer maintained, to another burial ground. These bones could be placed in either one or more graves. Fees for burial plots were the same for any part of the graveyard; twelve ells for all adults and half that amount for children. This equal *weregild* for all reflects the same basic concept of social equality as the law prescribing equal claims on the part of all men for recompense or indemnity (Jóhannesson 1974: 168–69).
- 30 As *fróðr* chiefly refers to historical knowledge, *hinn fróði* was an appellation

given to the old Icelandic chroniclers – Ari fróði, Brandr fróði, Sæmundr fróði, and Kolskeggr fróði, who lived between 1050 and 1150. But the historians of the next age were seldom called by this name: Oddr Munk (by the end of the twelfth century) is only once called so; Snorri (of the thirteenth century) twice; Sturla is never called by that name; and the only real exception is Styrmir ‘fróði’ (who died in 1245), though he least deserved the name. Of foreign writers the Icelanders gave the name ‘fróði’ to Bede, whom they held in great honour (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991:175), although Donald K. Fry (Pulsiano 1993: 37) suggests that medieval Scandinavians revered Bede for his reputation but had little direct contact with his work.

Snorri Sturluson, hinn fróði, was lawman, historian and author. Diana Edwards Whaley remarks (Pulsiano 1993: 602) that his ‘driving ambition made him exceptional, but, at the same time his life reflects his age and its contradictions, not least that between political turbulence and intellectual achievement’.

In 1215–18 and 1222–31 Snorri held the influential position of lögsögumaðr and he became the richest man in Iceland. Born in 1179, he was the youngest of the three Sturlusons and his relations with his brothers Þórðr and Sighvatr and his nephew Sturla Sighvatsson were, at worst, destructive. Snorri was brought up among the Oddaverjar as the foster son of Jón Loftsson (who died in 1197) at Oddi. He allied himself well, first through his marriage to Herdís, the daughter of Bersi the Wealthy of Borg in Mýrar, and then through his liaison with Hallveig Ormsdóttir, the richest woman in Iceland, and through the marriages of his daughters, although two of his former sons-in-law, Gizurr and Kolbeinn, were part of the expedition, instigated by King Hákon, that eventually led to his death at Reykjaholt on 23 September 1241.

It is as a man of letters, a preserver of mythological and historical traditions and a composer of technically ingenious verse and superb prose, that Snorri is especially remembered. He wrote *Snorra Edda* (the Prose Edda, about 1220), a separate *Ólafs saga helga* and *Heimskringla*, and it has often been argued that he was the composer of *Egils saga*. (See also Jóhannesson 1974; Kristjánsson 1988: 166–178; Pulsiano 1993: 157–57, 602–03; Introduction, p. xii–xvi.)

The inclusion of the line *þat haust – í Reykjaholti* in Br (line 47) not only gives a chronological reference, but also places the events against the

wider background of Icelandic events.

- 31 The wording in *Br* (lines 48–49) makes the fact of Guðmundr’s fostering by Ögmundr and Steinunn, his aunt and her husband, explicit. Furthermore, the inclusion of **Þat fannst brátt á – ok gōrðusk margar greinir með þeim Sæmundi** in *Br* a) provides the first indication of the impending clashes between Ögmundr and Sæmundr, b) makes an explicit comment on the overbearing behaviour of the former and c) establishes an effective transition to the next section, which deals with the clash about Höskuldr, a tenant of Ögmundr’s.
- 32 The adoption of *kirkjufé* for *Kirkjubæ*, following *H*, is logical. Sæmundr would not have taken his portion of Guðmundr’s property to Kirkjubær, where Ögmundr was the warden.
- 33 Icelandic *ómagi* means someone incapable of maintaining him/herself by working (because of childhood, old age, or other infirmity). Höskuldr, a pauper, was such a person and is not mentioned in other sources. Dennis, Foote and Perkins (1980: 244) use ‘dependent’ [sic] in their translation when the responsibility for maintaining such a person lies with an individual, and ‘incapable person’ when the responsibility lies with the community. In the latter case such people were usually itinerant. They continue:
- Rules about working times and wage contracts might be relaxed for men with ‘households of depend[a]nts’. The share of an outlaw’s property that fell to the community was first devoted to maintenance of his depend[a]nts, otherwise to maintenance of other incapable persons itinerant in the relevant district.
- 34 The phrase **ok er nú kyrt um vetrinn** (lines 60–61) seems almost formulaic. On the one hand, it indicates that during the winter life went on normally and hostilities ceased; on the other, it seems to be an ominous indication that tensions would flare up again in the spring.
- 35 *Br* uses both **brott** and **burt**, a later form not found in very early MSS but probably in use by the time the copy was made (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 76).

These forms have been standardized to **brott** in the current edition. The omission of **er Egill átti** in **Br** (line 67) shifts the meaning somewhat, as if Sæmundr took everything, not only Egill's share as indicated by **I**.

- 36 In this case the version of **I**, **þegar Sæmundr er í brottu**, evokes a sense of urgency and tension in Egill's action not matched in **Br**.
- 37 The section **Ábóti hét – öðrum mönnum** (lines 77–79), which does not appear in **I**, represents the abbot's plea that Ögmundr should not support his friends too zealously and hints at the abbot's concern about Sæmundr's expected reaction. A more explicit characterization of both Sæmundr and Ögmundr is given in the section which follows. This is an important evocation, in **Br**, of the tensions caused by the brothers' differences with Ögmundr.
- 38 As before, **Br** adds a chronological seasonal reference (**um sumarit**, line 84) not recorded in **I**.
- 39 There appears to be a writing error in **Br** here: **svá bað hann Guðmund vægja Ögmundi** (lines 86–87) is unlikely from the context. Guðmundr was with the Abbot, who requested Sæmundr to drop his suit against Ögmundr, so it is natural that Guðmundr, who was about thirteen years old at this stage, would request his brother to give in to his foster-father, as given in **I**: **ok svá Guðmundr bað hann vægja Ögmundi, fóstra sínum**. What follows in **I**, **Ok svá gerir Sæmundr – fram at sinni**, indicates that Sæmundr is amenable to the requests of the Abbot and his brother.
- 40 The reflexive form of **gipta** is used of both man and wife; in old writers the man **kvángask**, i.e. 'takes a wife'; the woman is **gipt**, i.e. 'given away'. In the course of time the original sense of the word was lost and it came to mean 'to marry'.
- 41 The line **segir, at hann man koma, en Steinunn husfreyja, föður-systir hans, bað hann eigi fara, en Guðmundr reið þó**, which occurs in **I** but not in **Br**,

emphasizes the role of Steinunn, Guðmundr's aunt, in trying to keep the brothers out of trouble with Ögmundr and thus to maintain the peace. It is this emphasis which suggests that the author was close to Steinunn.

- 42 The difference in word-choice between **Br** (*fjölraett*) and **I** (*alltiðraett*) makes virtually no difference in the meaning and could represent an instance of lexical change from the fourteenth century (the time of the compilation of **I**) to the seventeenth century (when the copy in **Br** was written). See Introduction, p. xlii.
- 43 **Br's** version, *Guðmundr reið heim af veizlunni í Kirkjubæ* (line 99), is more economical, moves faster and has more immediate impact than the longer version in **I**: *En er slitit var veizlunni, reið Guðmundr heim*.
- 44 The term *hest* was used a) about a male horse, including geldings, and b) as a generic term. The term *hross*, on the other hand, denoted any kind of horse; in certain contexts it could mean 'a mare'. Horses were the chief means of travel and transport, and were therefore essential for every farm. Stallions were often trained for fighting and horse fights were a common and popular diversion. The old Icelanders were keenly interested in raising horses, which were favourite gifts, and pursued a systematic type of horse-breeding. They kept herds of breeding horses, the ultimate goal being to produce a pure breed. The stallion and the mares were often of the same colour. The main purpose of horse breeding was to produce good horses for fighting and perhaps also for riding. The appellation *góðan*, only in **Br**, accentuates the value of the gift intended to strengthen the bond between the two brothers. This also suggests that Guðmundr could be receiving a reward from Sæmundr a) because he has defied the opposition of his aunt to his visit and b) because he has undertaken to support his brother against Ögmundr. The latter case is subsequently evident in Guðmundr's request for permission to leave Ögmundr and Steinunn and in his joining Sæmundr.
- 45 The Scandinavians of heathen times seem to have known only a duo-decimal hundred (12 x 10 or 120); but with the introduction of Christianity and its

Latin influence came the decimal hundred, the two being distinguished by adjectives – *tólfrætt hundrað* = 120, and *tírætt hundrað* = 100. The old popular duodecimal system continued in almost all matters concerned with economic and civil life, in all law phrases, in trade, exchange, property, value, or the like, and the decimal only in ecclesiastical or scholastic matters. At the same time the word in speech and writing was commonly used without any specification of *tírætt* or *tólfrætt*, for everyone acquainted with the language knew which was meant in each case; even at the present time an Icelandic farmer counts his flocks and a fisherman his share by the duodecimal system; and everybody knows that a herd or a share of one hundred and a half means $120 + 60 = 180$. In olden times a double standard of value was used: the wool or *wadmál* standard, called *hundrað talið*, ‘a hundred by tale’, i.e. a hundred and twenty ells of *wadmál*, denoted simply by value to that amount (as a pound sterling in English), and a silver standard, called *hundrað vegit*, ‘a hundred by weight’, or *hundrað silfrs*, ‘a hundred in silver’ (amounting to twenty ounces). The words *vegin*, *silfrs*, or *talin* are often added, but in most cases no specification is given, and the context must show which of the two standards is meant. The wool standard is the usual one, but in cases of *weregild* the silver standard seems always to be understood; thus a single *weregild* (the fine for a man’s life) was one hundred (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 292–93).

- 46 *Jól*, ‘Yule’, a great feast in heathen times, the time of celebrating the ancient feast of the winter solstice, conflated with the Christian Christmas in the Middle Ages. In Icelandic popular usage Yule-eve is a kind of landmark by which the year is reckoned, so that a man is as many years old as he has passed Yule nights, for the year counts from Yule night. The heathen Yule lasted thirteen days, whence is derived the name *þrettándi*, ‘the thirteenth’, which was Epiphany, i.e. the 6th of January, the English ‘Twelfth Night’ (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 326). This was the festival commemorating the manifestation of Christ to the gentiles in the persons of the Magi. Among the Scandinavians the heathen Yule seems to have been celebrated about three weeks later than Christmas, but the Norse king Hákon, who had been brought up in Christian England, altered the time of the festival to correspond with the English Yule or Christmas. In this way the heathen

hökunótt, ‘midwinter night’, came to represent our Christmas Eve (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 309).

- 47 The old Scandinavians and Teutons had no declinable numeral adjectives from twenty to a hundred; the word *tigr* (like *hundrað* and *þúsund*) was a regular substantive. The old way of counting is therefore complex and curious; e.g. forty-one was called ‘four tens and one’, or ‘one of the fifth decade’; forty-eight was called ‘four tens and eight’ or by counting back, ‘five tens short of two’. In the fourteenth century *tigr* began to lose its character as a substantive, e.g. *þrjátigr*, *fimtigr*, whence at last came the modern *þrjátíu*, *fimmtíu*. At the same time *hundrað* and *þúsund* became indeclinable. In old writers the decades are declined and followed by a genitive, e.g. *átta tigr manna* (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 629).
- 48 This sentence is much more compressed and matter-of-fact than the version in **I**.
- 49 This is an example of the abrupt changes from indirect to direct speech that are very frequent in Old Icelandic syntax (Gordon 1957: 314, §173). The addition of the direct speech in **Br** at this point makes the exchange between Guðmundr and Steinunn more immediate. **I**’s version, though fuller and with more detail, is not necessarily less dramatic, however.
- 50 This sentence is more succinct than **I**’s version.
- 51 St Paul’s Conversion is commemorated on 25 January, so Sæmundr and his party rode to Kirkjubær on the evening of 26 January.
- 52 *Bryti* occurs twice or thrice in Icelandic books, of the ‘bailiffs’ of private farms; also of the two bishops’ bailiffs, where *bryti* is inferior to *ráðsmaðr*, ‘a steward’, and denotes ‘the headlabourer’ in the bishop’s homestead (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 85).

- 53 Literally, *eldhús* means ‘the fire-house’, i.e. the hall or parlour, one of the chief rooms in ancient dwellings, where the fire was kept up. The word may also have been used of any room having a hearth or a fire, and even of a kitchen. Bætke (q.v. 1976: 108) indicates the kitchen, bedroom, living-room and guest-room. In modern usage *eldhús* only means ‘kitchen’.
- 54 On lexical grounds *feni*, probably from *fen*, ‘a fen, quagmire, bog’, is more probable than *penni*, for the use of which there does not seem to be a semantic explanation. Br’s *penni eðr feni* could indicate either an uncertainty about the man’s nickname or a difficulty in distinguishing the word in the text of II. Þorvaldr is not mentioned elsewhere.
- 55 A single farmstead consisted of several separate buildings, each with its own function, each very low, coming down almost to the ground at the eaves, and often set into the earth below ground level. A man or a dog could easily jump on to it.
- 56 In *Sturlunga saga*, *skáli* is distinguished from *stofa*; and it seems that the men were seated in the former, the women in the latter. In *Grágas* a distinction is made between *eldhús* and *skáli*. The *skáli* was a detached building, hut or shed used for sleeping or as a hall with sleeping-quarters.
- 57 Br’s version, *Illugi Guðmundarson var – hverir munu þeir vera* (lines 117–24), is more compact and moves more rapidly, heightening the dramatic tension. The abbreviation does, however, lead to the omission of the name of Þorvaldr as the person who went into the farmhouse to warn Ögmundr of the approaching party.
- 58 The two versions have virtually the same meaning, but Br (line 125) foregrounds Sæmundr, as the leader of the band, rather than the two brothers. The addition in Br of *ok görið – frændr mína*, accentuates the role of Steinunn as peaceweaver. In I, Ögmundr’s preparation also includes taking ten mailcoats and waking the men in his household. In Br, the focus is on their hurried dressing and moving out to the church. The sections omitted

in **Br** provide finer detail not necessary for the progress of the action.

- 59 The carrying of arms in churches was not prohibited until some time after the middle of the twelfth century and throughout the Commonwealth period there were apparently no laws in existence declaring churches as sanctuaries (Jóhannesson 1974: 168).
- 60 **allir heimamenn hans** (**Br**, line 129) indicates the men of his household, whereas **þeir menn aðrir, er fyrir váru** (**I**) suggests that all the men who were at home with Ögmundr at the time joined him in the fight. **Br** omits Ögmundr's pause inside the church to count his forces and it seems as if he assessed his men outside the church before they entered the church doors.
- 61 **Pétr Grímsson** is not mentioned anywhere else.
- 62 In Old Icelandic, **dyrr** occurred only in the plural, neuter or feminine. It was neuter with the article, but almost always feminine if joined to an adjective. In most cases the gender of the genitive and dative cannot be discerned. **Dyrr** denotes the doorway, **hurð** the door. **Stöpull** denotes a steeple, so that the doors mentioned here gave entrance to the porch of the church at the base of the steeple (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 111).
- 63 This is a somewhat awkward construction in **Br** (lines 133–34) which, although it omits the tautologous **ok menn hans** (**I**), uses the plural **kalla**, so that everyone seems to be shouting at once instead of allowing Sæmundr to assume command.
- 64 The sense of immediate verbal confrontation is heightened in **Br** by the use of direct speech throughout this exchange.
- 65 It is much fuller here: Ögmundr is not only reminded of his indebtedness to the memory of Ormr, the brothers' father, but is also accused of using tricks and subterfuges against them. It is on these grounds that they consider

themselves entitled to attack him.

- ⁶⁶ **Fjárgarðr** was probably a Norwegian. In Iceland and in the northern parts of the British Isles **austmaðr** was used of those who came from the Scandinavian continent, and especially of Norse merchants.
- ⁶⁷ This is another instance where **Br** favours direct speech as opposed to the reported speech in **I**. This stylistic device, as well as the tighter syntax, creates a greater sense of immediacy in **Br**.
- ⁶⁸ The lexical difference between **drífa (Br)** and **dirfa (I)** is possibly due to scribal error. **Drífa**, ‘to give in or yield’ seems plausible in the context but **dirfa**, ‘to dare’, is more pressing.
- ⁶⁹ Deacons were the first of the six grades of clerics below the level of ordained priests. These were, in descending order: deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors and ostiaries. Holders of these offices were to assist priests and others occupying the higher ecclesiastical positions. The office of subdeacon marked the distinction between the major and minor orders (Jóhannesson 1974: 167).
- Richard Ringler (1972: 20) translates **ganimaðr** as ‘the Gaper’, probably from **gapi**, ‘a rash, reckless man’. The present translation, possibly from **gan** ‘frenzy, frantic gestures’ or **gana** ‘to rush, run frantically’, seems more plausible. **Móðólfr djákni** is not mentioned anywhere else.
- ⁷⁰ **Teitr Hallsson (Hafr-Teitr, ‘Teitr the he-goat or buck’)** was the son of **Gróa Teitsdóttir** of **Hof** in **Austfirðir**, the mother of **Þórarinn Jónsson**. **Gróa’s** sister was **Ragnfriðr Teitsdóttir**. (See also lines 201–21.)
- ⁷¹ The use of **hálsinn** in **Br** is possibly a scribal error. It is plausible that **Móðólfr** would aim at the arm (**handlegginn**, as in **I**) detaining him in order to secure his release and get away.

- 72 **Móðólfur hleypr at ánni fram, Kirkjubæinga-á, hon fell þíð milli höfuðísa (I)** evokes a sense of urgency and panic in the deacon's flight: he braves the thick ice on either side and hurls himself into the current to swim across, something which **Br** does not quite capture, focusing only on Móðólf's headlong flight.
- 73 **Br** omits the identification of Halldór as the owner of Tungu, the farm to which Móðólfur flees for help.
- 74 **I's** version, **Diakni snýr þá skjótt aptr sömu leið**, reinforces the sense of desperate haste not captured in **Br**.
- 75 The omission of **en Teitr gangr at Sæmundi** in **Br** diminishes the sense of movement and action but sustains the swiftness of pace.
- 76 This is another instance where the direct speech with its greater economy of words in **Br** sustains the sense of immediacy and the rapid pace. Lines 169–73 indicate that Sæmundr counts on the support of Helgi Loftsson whereas Svartr, Helgi's brother, supports Ögmundr and urges him to attack.
- 77 **I** omits **bróðir**, so that the information is false: Guðmundr and Sæmundr are Steinunn's nephews, not her sons.
- 78 The lexical difference between the two texts here is probably due to a scribal error. According to Cleasby et al. (1991: 123 and 759), however, **eirir** (from **eira**, 'to yield', **Br**) and **ærði** (from **æra**, 'to honour', **I**) are evidently the same word but different from **eira**, 'to spare'.
- 79 The phrase **með hinn sjaunda mann (I)** is idiomatic. It indicates that Ögmundr rode out with or in the company of a party of seven men, he himself being the eighth.
- 80 The difference in diction causes a shift in meaning here: **I's** use of **eigi verr**,

‘not worse’, creates the impression that they were equally liked and is an interesting use of litotes, whereas **Br**’s use of **betr** makes it clear that they preferred Ögmundr above Sæmundr.

81 The word order in **Br**, as opposed to **ok þótt ek sé mægðr við Sæmund (I)**, highlights Sæmundr, the person Ögmundr and Þórðr are discussing.

82 **Far-dagar**, m. pl. ‘moving days’, is a very old use, denoting four successive days (Thursday to Saturday) in spring, starting on 21 May, in which a person’s legal home might be changed. It was also the time for household men and tenants to make or renew contracts and move house. Such moving could affect the calling of neighbours for service on witness panels (Dennis, Foote and Perkins 1980: 251).

83 From the ninth to the thirteenth century, Iceland maintained its independence, with the **alþingi** as a public arena for resolving disputes and regulating power. In the thirteenth century, the importance of the **alþingi** diminished as the power of the big chieftains, **stórgoðar**, grew, and the disruptions of the Sturlung period became more frequent. When Iceland succumbed to Norwegian power in 1262–1264, the independence of the **alþingi** was severely curtailed as the Norwegian crown abolished the old chieftaincies and new royal officials, frequently Icelanders, dominated the assembly.

The most eventful years in the history of the **alþingi** are 930 (foundation), 964 (reform), 999–1000 (introduction of Christianity), 1004 (Institution of the Fifth Court), 1024 (repudiation of the attempt of the king of Norway to annex Iceland), 1096 (introduction of tithes), 1117 (first codification of laws), 1262–1264 (submission to the king of Norway), 1271 and 1281 (new codes introduced).

The **alþingi** continued to meet at Þingvöllr until 1798, when it was disbanded. It was revived in 1845 in a changed form in Reykjavík (Jesse L. Byock in Pulsiano 1993: 10–11; See also Introduction, pp. iv–viii, GN 5, 13, 16, 23.)

- 84 The general Norse word for outlaw is *útlagi*, which literally means ‘outside law’. In her discussion of Norse cosmography, Kirsten Hastrup (Pulsiano 1993: 108–09) makes the point that the law was the defining feature of Nordic society and divided ‘the social’ from ‘the wild’ much as in Snorri’s cosmology the inner circle, *Miðgarðr* – ‘the middle yard’ – was separated from the outer circle, *Útgarðr* – ‘the outer yard’.

Outlaws were exiles from society. Expelled because of their unsocial behaviour, they were absorbed into the wild. In Iceland, outlawry was known as *skóggangr*, ‘forest going’, and the outlaw was referred to as *skógarmaðr*, ‘forest man’. Outlawry was the harshest punishment during the Free State (930–1264). Since the Icelandic government had no executive powers and maintained no policing body, the law did not make provision for corporal punishment, execution or incarceration. Individuals were responsible for enforcing the penalty, whether a fine or outlawry. The latter could amount to a death sentence, since outlaws could be killed with impunity.

The Icelandic *Grágás* (Dennis, Foote and Perkins 1980: 246, 250) distinguishes three types of outlawry: *skóggangr* (full outlawry, where the outlaw forfeited his property and all rights, civil, family and ecclesiastical), *fjörbaugsgarðr* (lesser outlawry, i.e. three years exile and confiscation of property), and *heraðssekt* (exile from the district). (See also Pulsiano 1993: 115–16, 460–61.)

- 85 Iceland was politically divided into quarters or *fjórðungar* (a division which seems to have taken place in 964, and exists up to the present time). The *Austfirðinga*-, *Vestfirðinga*- and *Sunnlendinga*-*fjórðungr*, or east-, west- and south quarters each had three shires or *þing*, whereas the *Norðlendinga*-*fjórðungr* or north quarter had four. Each had a parliament called *Fjórðungs-þing* or *Fjórðunga-þing*, and a court called *Fjórðungs-dómar*, the ‘Quarter courts’. (See also GN 83.)

- 86 **Brandr Kolbeinsson** of *Staðr*, the son of **Kolbeinn Kaldaljós**, was married to **Jórunn Kálfsdóttir**. He owned the majority of chieftaincies in *Skagafjörður* and much on the western side of the moor. He opposed *Þórðr kakali* in the battle of *Haugsnæs* on the southern bank of the *Djúpadalsá* on 19 April 1246. Brandr was caught fleeing and killed. He had enjoyed great popularity but

‘did not possess the firmness which had characterized Kolbeinn the Young’ (Jóhannesson 1974: 261).

- 87 Although at different points in the text, essentially the same comment, *ok er þat mál manna, at hann skilði harðliga við þetta mál I/ok þótti mönnum, hann hafa lítt skilisk við málin þeira Ormssona ok Ögmundar Br*, is made in both MSS (TN 228). The apparent neutrality of the statement could suggest an aspersion by the author on Þórðr’s handling of the matter. Advocacy seems ineffectual and reconciliation ephemeral in *Sturlunga saga*.
- 88 **Filippus Sæmundarson** of Oddi was married to Þórdís Flosadóttir and was drowned on 25 September 1251. It was in 1249 that Þórðr forced Filippus of Stórolfshvoll and Haraldr of Oddi, the sons of Sæmundr Jónsson, to leave the country and took command of their territories, thus breaking down all opposition to himself. King Hákon summoned Þórðr abroad in 1250 because it was felt that Þórðr was more bent on gaining control of Iceland himself than subjecting it to the king. By 1251 the Sæmundarsons had yielded up their chieftaincies to King Hákon. These were the first, or among the first, chieftaincies in Iceland to come into the possession of the king.
- 89 **Sigvarðr Þéttmarsson**, a Norseman, was ordained Bishop of Skálholt in 1238 and died in 1268 (see Introduction, pp. xi).
- 90 **Guðmundr Hjaltason** died on 5 February in 1250.
- 91 **Eyjólfur Þorsteinsson ofsi** of Hvamm was married to Þuriðr, natural daughter of Sturla Sighvatsson. He and Hrani Koðránsson were responsible for setting on fire Gizurr’s house at Flugumýri on the eve of 22 October 1253, killing Gizurr’s wife and all their sons and many other people. Eyjólfur was slain in the battle of Þveráreyrar on 19 July 1255. **Hrafn Oddsson** (1226 – 22 November 1289) was married to Þuriðr Sturludóttir. He was one of the first of the Vestfirðings to swear the oath of allegiance to King Hákon in 1262. Hrafn was one of Gizurr’s strongest enemies, but the two became reconciled at the *alþingi* in 1262. **Þorleifr Þórðarson** of Garðar was a cousin of the

Sturlungs. He died in 1257. As far as is known, Þorleifr's territory was the first in Iceland to be regarded as the king's property.

- 92 In Iceland, the sense of *hérað* is mostly geographical, 'a district', valley, fjord, country, as bordered by mountains or in the same river basin; thus the *Skagafjörðr* and the *Eyjafjörðr* are each a *hérað* (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 257).
- 93 According to Cleasby et al. (1991: 77), letter-writing is never mentioned in the Icelandic Sagas before the end of the Saga age, about 1015. *Bréf* occurs for the first time as a sort of dispatch in the negotiation between Norway and Sweden in 1018. The earliest Icelandic deeds on record are of the end of the eleventh century. In *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, Sturlunga and *Biskupa Sögur* (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) letters of every kind, public and private, are frequently mentioned. In the Saga time, *orð ok jarategnir*, 'words and tokens', is a standing phrase; the 'token' commonly was a ring. In the old Sagas even runes are hardly mentioned as a medium of writing.
- 94 Gift-giving was an indispensable way of cementing alliances and friendships. Gifts were obligatory, a token of grace and goodwill on the part of giver and receiver. The departing friend or visitor had to be dismissed with gifts which consisted mainly of weapons and costly clothes, but favourite gifts were a steed, oxen of a fine breed, white bears, hawks, tents, sails (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 202).
- 95 *Gyða Sölmundardóttir* was Egill's sister and a niece of Snorri Sturluson.
- 96 *Hirð* (A.S. *hired*, 'family, household, body of retainers') is a common term for the retinue of warriors accompanying kings or great men in the Nordic countries. Most of what is known of the institution concerns the king's *hirð*. The Norwegian *hirð* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was divided into three groups: *hirðstjóra*, *hirðmenn*, 'hirð-men', and *gestir*, 'guests', who did police work for the king (Jóhannesson 1948: 116). The first group was further divided into several different ranks. Both Danish and Norwegian

sources distinguish quite early between resident and non-resident members of the *hirð*. After the civil wars in Norway, from the mid-thirteenth century, most members became non-resident, yet the attachment to the king became permanent, and an ideology was developed that strongly emphasized the *hirðmaðr*'s submission to the king and the loyal service owed to him. The *hirð* served as an instrument in attaching the majority of the leading men to the king's service (Jóhannesson 1948: 116–136; Sverre Bagge in Pulsiano 1993: 284). Prominent Icelanders who were Hákon's *hirðmenn* in the Sturlung Age were, for instance, Snorri Sturluson and Gizurr Þorvaldsson.

⁹⁷ Br uses *orðlof*, a faulty, 'less correct' spelling (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 468, Jónsson 1863: 407).

⁹⁸ *Kolbeinn svart*i was a Norse skipper, and *Skeggi hvít*i a Norse sailor. By this time Icelanders no longer possessed their own boats and thus were dependent on Norwegian merchants and seamen for transport and trade.

⁹⁹ The principal feast of St Michael, the archangel, is celebrated on 29 September. (H has *Nikulásmessu*, for which the date was 10 September.)

¹⁰⁰ An *eyrr* (acc. and dat. *eyrir*) is a sand- or gravel-bank, in this case probably of a point of land running into the sea. It is likely that the ship passed to the east of the coast near Vík in Mýrdal (the modern name for Mýdal), an area notorious for its treacherous coastline. Then it sailed westwards, where it eventually came to grief on the Westmann Islands.

The origin of *Minþakseyri* (Kå) is explained in *Landnámabók* (Benediktsson 1968: 42–43):

... fekk [Hjörleifr] vatnfátt. Þá tóku þrælarnir írsku þat ráð at knoða saman mjöl ok smjör ok kölluðu þat óþorstlátt; þeir nefndu þat minþak. En er þat var tilbúit, kom regn mikit, ok tóku þeir þá vatn á tjöldum. En er minþakit tók at mygla, köstuðu þeir því fyrir borð, ok rak þat á land, þar sem nú heitir Minþakseyrr.

This was probably the same point on the coast as Mýdalseyri, the name adopted by both Br and 439, so there is no need for emendation.

It is obvious that Harald was worried about the safety of their passage

along this dangerous route; hence his position on top of the cargo from where he surveyed the land.

- 101 The word **bátr** was used for a small open fishing vessel or a ship-boat. In Iceland only small boats are called thus, those with two or four oars. An eight-oared boat is a 'ship' (q.v. Cleasby *et al.* 1991: 55).
- 102 **Dagr** usually means 'one half of the astronomical day', i.e. twelve hours of the day or night, but in some cases it also indicates an astronomical day, i.e. twenty-four hours. *Landnamabók* reckons the journey between Iceland and Norway as seven **dægr**, accepted by Cleasby *et al.* (1991: 112) and Zoëga (1987: 101) as seven astronomical days. Without water the party would probably have survived for six and a half days – thirteen seems unlikely.
- 103 **Ari Ingimundarson**, a kinsman of Þórðr kakali, was born in 1226 and died in 1258. **Sighvatr köstr**, **Ögmundur** and **Mör-Kári** (an Anglo-Saxon name) are not mentioned elsewhere.
- 104 **Sjálfðæmi** is a law-term, used when, instead of submitting a case to arbitration or to the judgment of a court, one party gave it over to his adversary to give judgment himself. By the old customs this was the greatest satisfaction that could be given, and it was often allowed to an injured man. It was also sometimes used as the last appeal to the justice and generosity of a powerful adversary.
- 105 **Fjörðr**, 'firth, bay', is a Scandinavian word, but a small crescent-formed inlet or creek is called **vík**, hence the saying, **fjörðr milli frænda, en vík milli vina**, 'let there be a firth between kinsmen, but a creek between friends', denoting that kinship is not always as trustworthy as friendship. In Iceland and old Scandinavian countries the shore districts are frequently divided into counties bearing the name of the firth, just as the inland is divided into dales. Thus **Eyja-fjörðr** and **Skaga-fjörðr** denote both the firth and the county bordering on the firth. The western and eastern parts of Iceland are called **Vest-firðir** and **Aust-firðir** (q.v. Cleasby *et al.* 1991: 158–59).

- 106 **St Óláfr** (Haraldsson) was king of Norway (1016–1030) and its patron saint. He fell in battle at Stiklastaðir on July 29, 1030, the date on which his feast day is celebrated. One year after the king had been buried close by St Clement's church in Niðaróss, Bishop Grimkell opened the coffin and found that the king's body was undecomposed. The bishop proclaimed the king a saint, but he was never officially canonized. According to Reidar Astås, Óláfr became 'an embodiment of the biblical idea of a just king, and was referred to as "Norway's king of all eternity". Church and kingdom shared a common interest in the saint as founder and unifier of a Christian national state' (Pulsiano 1993: 446).
- 107 **Loftr Hálfðanarson** died on 19 June 1312. **Hálfðan Loftsson**, as given in **Br**, is not mentioned anywhere else. **Magnús Jónsson** was a kinsman and **fylgðarmaðr** of Þorvarðr Þórarinnsson and one of the assassins of Þorgils skarði.
- 108 Cleasby et al. (1991: 226) comment that **görð** was used as a law term here, meaning 'arbitration'. The 'settlement' was known as **sætt** or **sættar-görð**, the 'umpires' **görðar-menn**, and the 'verdict' **gerð** or **görð**. This was a common way of settlement at the time of the Commonwealth and the institution of the Fifth Court did not make any change in this custom. **Görð** was even resorted to in public matters, such as the introduction of Christianity in 1000. Leading men acted the part of public peacemakers, for instance Njál and Jón Loftsson, until at last in the thirteenth century the king of Norway was resorted to. This was an indication of his increased influence in Icelandic affairs before the loss of independence.
- 109 **Þorsteinn Tjörvason** was married to Þórdís Jónsdóttir, the sister of Þórarinn, the father of Þorvarðr and Oddr.
- 110 The sentence **Sekt Ögmundar fréttisk af þinginu** (line 310) does not occur in **I** but in **Br** makes an appropriate transition from the preceding digression to return to the story of the Ormsons, which was last mentioned in line 228.

- 111 A fortnight after the assembly at which a man was outlawed, a confiscation court, *féránsdómr*, was held, normally outside his home, to deal with the outlaw's property. The court adjudged what was due to his wife, creditors, the presiding chieftain, and arranged for his dependants. Half of whatever was left went to the man who got him condemned and half to the men of the assembly. Sentence of lesser outlawry lapsed if no confiscation court was held (Dennis, Foote and Perkins 1980: 242).
- 112 In this case **Br**'s version is longer: lines 313 – 317 provide a clear statement which is given very tersely and ambiguously in **I** (*Ögmundar hluta ok sín hlut því at hon kallaði þat sína eign*).
- 113 A cow of specified age and condition represented a standard sum for valuation and exchange purposes, *kúgildi*, customarily but not always counted equivalent to two and a half ounces of silver or twenty ounce-units (one hundred and twenty ells of homespun) (Dennis, Foote and Perkins 1980: 255).
- 114 **Br** uses the word *féð*, the modern form of *féit*, nom. and acc. with the art. suffixed. The copyist was modernizing the usage of his source, probably to make the text more accessible to readers of his time.
- 115 Kålund observes (121: n1) that between this point and the immediately preceding events approximately a year has elapsed (autumn 1250-autumn 1251) about which nothing is related (cf. Ólsen 1897: 369, n2).
- 116 The two versions differ considerably in sense, sequence of events and tone. Roughly translated, **Br** reads as follows (lines 337–44): Sæmundr said that he would do as the abbot arranged and the abbot rejoiced in his kindness. The brothers rode westwards with the abbot to find Ögmundr in Skál and were reconciled, with the counsel of the abbot and other good men. After that the abbot rode home and, coming to Kirkjubær, told Steinunn, his sister, that Ögmundr and Sæmundr were reconciled. She was overjoyed, and when Ögmundr came home, she received him well and said that they were short of

nothing. She bade him to keep this truce as best he could.

I has the following: Sæmundr was agreeable and asked the abbot to mediate a reconciliation, a complete truce, a firm peace. The abbot thanked Sæmundr and wished him well. The abbot rode home after that, and came to Kirkjubær, telling Steinunn that Sæmundr had promised him to be reconciled with Ögmundr. She was overjoyed at this news and immediately sent a man to find Ögmundr and tell him to come home. Ögmundr rode home at once. His wife received him affectionately and said that they had no lack of wealth, whatever else they might need. Now a complete truce was established between Sæmundr and Ögmundr and full faith sworn, with the goodwill and counsel of abbot Brandr and Steinunn and Álfheiðr, Sæmundr's mother and at the suggestion of many other good men.

- 117 The information in this paragraph (lines 345–48) does not occur in I. At first Egill seems uncertain of his allegiance but later he appears in Ögmundr's company. Here he is shown to be a strong ally: he is a powerful man with a large body of followers (never fewer than fifteen and often more). He reports 'many friendly words of Ögmundr', perhaps in an attempt to maintain the truce, and is well received.
- 118 Br (lines 350–51) indicates that all the men on the farm, except the priests, are involved, but does not mention that they are armed. In I, all the fighting men on the farm accompany Ögmundr, each carrying some sort of weapon.
- 119 Br (lines 351–53) misses Ögmundr's attempt at a joke, which is captured by the text of I. I also mentions that Ögmundr invites Sæmundr to stay, but that the latter declines, saying that he is on his way to meet Abbot Brandr.
- 120 Þorsteinn Skeggjason, the son of Skeggi Njálsson, died on 26 October 1297.
- 121 In Br, Þorsteinn's warning and Sæmundr's dismissal of it in defence of the truce between him and his kinsman, Ögmundr, is left hanging in the air, as it were. In I, however, the long exchange between Sæmundr and Abbot Brandr takes the matter one step further: Sæmundr expresses his concern

about Ögmundr's motives, is reassured by the Abbot, who entreats him to keep his side of the bargain, and then voices his fear that he is going to come to harm at the hands of Ögmundr. Finally, the prophetic line, *ok fundust ekki síðan lífs*, adds to the sense of premonition and suspense. The narrator's comment about Ögmundr's disposition and his attitude about the brothers, although seemingly neutral and objective, adds an ominous note of foreboding to what has gone before.

- 122 Skírdagr is Maundy Thursday, the Thursday before Easter.
- 123 In Icelandic, *laug* signifies a hot spring, which was used for bathing. These were public bathing-places and the word is frequent in local place-names, e.g. *Laugar-á*, *Laugar-brekka*, etc. Saturday was the day appointed for cleansing and bathing, and hence the day took its name, *Laugar-dagr*, 'bath-day' (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 374). *Bað* is actually only used of a steambath or an artificial bath, distinct from *laug* (Fritzner 1973: I, 104; GN 127). Steinunn died on the Saturday night before Easter.
- 124 *Br* does not mention, as in *I*, that the news of her death was carried to the church. This information could be regarded as an indication of the narrator's intimate knowledge of events and circumstances.
- 125 *Br*'s version is much fuller here (lines 367–75). Two elements are mentioned which do not occur in *I*: a) Ögmundr's letter reminds Sæmundr of the role of Steinunn in praying for peace before her death and b) Sæmundr is said to believe Ögmund's argument that circumstances necessitate his travelling with only few followers and he does so.
- 126 *Br* does not mention that they had previously arranged to visit Abbot Brandr on the way to Helgi in Skál.
- 127 The term *laug* is restricted to natural warm springs; *bað* is the normal term for any other kind of bath. Local names referring to public bathing at hot springs always bear the name of *laug*, never *bað*, e.g. *Laugarnes*, *Laugardalr*.

The time of bathing, as born out by many passages in *Sturlunga saga*, was after supper, just before going to bed. Bathing in the morning seems not to have been usual. A special room, *baðstofa*, is frequently mentioned as belonging to Icelandic farms of that time (q.v. Cleasby et al. 1991: 49; GN 123).

- 128 **Br** 's use of direct speech is shorter, more immediate. The use of *þjónaði*, 'waited on, attended' (**Br**) gives a slight difference in meaning to *þerði*, 'dried' (**I**).
- 129 The use of *hann* (**Br**) as opposed to *hon* (**I**) could be a simple writing error, but as it stands it creates an impression of impatience on the part of *Sæmundr*.
- 130 The seemingly innocuous wording *ekki varð þar fleira til tíðinda* adds to a sense of somewhat breathless premonition created by the small scene just played out where *Sæmundr*'s neck 'itches terribly' in anticipation of the chopping off of his head. The thirteenth-century audience would no doubt know the story well, and the line subtly heightens the tension of the narrative.
- 131 The axe was one of the folk weapons (swords, spears and axes) mentioned in the Norwegian provincial laws, a poor freeman being equipped with only an axe and a shield, while a wealthy man would have a shield, helmet, coat of mail, and all the folk weapons (Pulsiano 1993: 718–19). Swords were regarded as the most prestigious weapons, and individual names were often given to them and recorded in the sagas. The axe was the other chief weapon of offence, '...in some ways the most emotive of all Viking weapons' (Foote and Wilson 1973: 276).
- 132 *Kurteisi*, 'courtesy, chivalry, fine manners, grace', a concept which was associated in Europe, and especially in France, with life at court and its tradition of courtly love and chivalry, had reached Iceland by this time. *Hákon Hákonarson* had initiated the production of the *riddarasögur*, 'sagas about knights', as part of his campaign to keep in step with European culture.

Marianne Kalinke (Pulsiano 1993: 530) suggests that the chronology indicates that some of the Icelandic romances were composed at around 1300, the same time as *Njáls saga* and *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*. This makes them contemporary with the date of the compilation of *Sturlunga saga*. The *riddarasögur*, contemporary with the *Íslendingasögur*, are in the ‘court style’, with the thematic emphasis on the virtues of courage, loyalty, piety and modesty, along with a lack of interest in the ritual and emotion of love (Geraldine Barnes in Pulsiano 1993: 532).

- 133 The description of the struggle to get Sæmundr off his horse is longer in *I*, but the only point not mentioned in *Br* is that three other men also grabbed at him alongside Ögmundr. Otherwise, the account in *Br* moves faster.

- 134 *Grið* is a Scandinavian word. It is found twice in Old English literature, where it is derived from Danish, not Anglo-Saxon: the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 1011, and the Old English poem *The Battle of Maldon*:

Ne þurfte we us spillan gif ge spedap to þam
we willað wið þam golde grið fæstnian.

(Scragg 1984: 58, lines 34–35)

[We need not destroy each other if you are sufficiently wealthy. We wish to establish a truce with that gold.]

- 135 The direct speech interchange in *Br* makes the sense much more dramatic and ruthless. *I* uses indirect speech, while the euphemistic Ögmundr segir at Sæmundr skyldi þá ekki lengi kunna at segja fra tiðindum seems more subtle than the bland þú skalt deyja, ok svá Guðmundr, bróðir þinn.

- 136 The difference in tense between skömmu muntu prestsfund hafa, ‘you will shortly see a priest’, (*Br*) and skömmu muntu prest hafa fundit, ‘you have seen a priest very recently’ (*I*) changes the sense considerably.

- 137 *harðorðr* (*Br*), ‘hard-spoken’, as opposed to *hraporðr* (*I*), ‘hasty in one’s language’, could be the result of a writing error by one of the copyists or an

indication of language change, but as it stands the meaning differs slightly.

- 138 The focus in **Br** is sharply on Sæmundr: there is no mention of the Eucharist received by the two brothers or of their reading of the litany. However, in the displaced section the brothers are both said to have been housled (line 469).
- 139 The use of **herðunum** (**Br**) implies that the head is not severed completely from the shoulders. In **I**, **sandinum** makes the blow far more violent as the head is taken off completely in one single chop.
- 140 Cleasby et al. (1991: 69) suggest that **blíðr** is a word of endearment, but as it denotes the outward expression of mildness in the eyes, look, voice, it also has a bad sense, "bland, fawning, enticing".
- 141 This line seems somewhat displaced in **Br**; it is added almost as an afterthought once Sæmundr has been killed (see TN 452, GN 133).
- 142 These words spoken by Guðmundr (**Br**) evoke a stronger sense of pride and **drengskapr** than **at eigi er betra at sæma við yðr ok lifa eptir hann dauðan** (**I**).
- 143 The last part of this sentence works better in **I** to create a sense of urgency in Þorsteinn's movements: **Hljóp hann þá a bak ok hleypti austr ór garði ok fór allt til þess er hann kom til mots við þá Ögmund**.
- 144 This repetition of the plea from line 471, which does not occur in **I**, adds poignancy to Guðmundr's plight.
- 145 This account (lines 495–98) presents much more graphic detail of the violence done to Guðmundr than **I**, while omitting any mention of the priests at this stage.
- 146 The word **sál** is Teutonic, but not Scandinavian, and was probably adopted

from the Saxon with the acceptance of Christianity. It is therefore used only in a religious and ecclesiastical sense and never occurs in heathen poems.

- 147 **Br**'s account (lines 501–14) differs in several respects from that of **I**: a) the violence done to Guðmundr is underlined more vividly by the action of Brandr Guðmundarson, who sticks his hand into the wound and searches about with his fingers to determine how deep it is, b) Jón Ögmundarson assumes a more prominent role, threatening Þorsteinn into hacking at Guðmundr a second time, c) the brutality of Þorsteinn's blow is described more graphically and d) in contrast with Sæmundr's body, Guðmundr's is said to bleed profusely.
- 148 **I** omits that Svartr is helped to stand up and does not describe his brave response to his experience. The 'other saga' referred to here could be **I**, since the wording which follows is identical with the text in **I**. Thorsson (1988: xciii) states that '**Björn vísaði til Króksfjarðarbókar með orðunum "önnur saga"**'.
- 149 This is another instance where **Br**, in contrast to **I**, uses direct speech to evoke a greater sense of immediacy.
- 150 **Kenni-maðr**, 'teacher', is only used of a cleric or priest. The opposite is **leikmenn**, 'laymen'.
- 151 **Br** omits the information that Þórðr had put Eyjólftr in charge of the district, a fact which would probably have been known to the audience.
- 152 Broddi Þorleifsson of Hof in Skagafjörðr was married to Þjoðbjörg Tumadóttir. Páll Kolbeinsson of Stað was the son of Staðar-Kolbein and Magrét Sæmundardóttir.
- 153 **Laurentius-messa** was the feast day of St Lawrence of Rome, celebrated in the summer on 10 August.

154 Coming only a short while after **Laurentius-messa** (the feast day of St Lawrence of Rome), which was celebrated in the summer on 10 August, the **Máriu-messa** referred to here was the latter festival day of the Virgin Mary, the feast day celebrating Mary's birth, **Nativitas Mariæ**, celebrated on 8 September.

155 **Gizurr Þorvaldsson** was born in 1209 and died on 12 January 1268. He was married twice, first to Ingibjörg Snorradóttir from whom he was separated in 1231, and then to Gróa Álfadóttir, by whom he had two sons, Hallr and Ísleifr. It was Gizurr who, accompanied by another of Snorri's former sons-in-law, Kolbeinn, in response to a letter from King Hákon, led the force of seventy men that attacked Reykjaholt on 23 September 1241 and killed Snorri in the cellar. In 1253, after the wedding feast of Sturla Þórðarson's daughter and Gizurr's son Hallr, a marriage which was arranged to strengthen their alliance, there was a futile attempt to avenge Sturla Sighvatsson's death (1238) when Gizurr's manor, Flugumýrr, was put to the torch.

In 1258 Gizurr was appointed earl, with the duty of completing the subjection of Iceland to Norway which began in 1220 when Snorri Sturluson became King Hákon's *lendr maðr* ('landed man'). The king's confiscation of Snorri's property and *godorð* as forfeit to the crown after Snorri's assassination in 1241 was the beginning of his interference in Icelandic politics. When Gizurr did not pursue the king's cause actively enough, Hákon sent a Norwegian, Hallvarðr Gullskór, to Iceland in 1261 to force Gizurr to act. In the years 1262–64 Iceland became a part of the Norwegian kingdom. The earldom ceased to exist after Gizurr's death in 1268, and one or two superior commissioners, *valdsmenn*, governed the country (Jóhannesson 1974; Pulsiano 1993: 317, 603, 613 and 615; Introduction pp. xv–xvii).

156 **Haugsnessfundr**, 'the fight at Haugsnes', took place on 19 April 1246. It was the bloodiest of all Icelandic battles and is described in **Þórðar saga kakala**.

157 **Eiríkr Valdimarsson inn helgi** was King of Denmark and died in 1250. **Valdimarr Birgisson**, King of Sweden, died on 26 December 1302.

- 158 Önundr biskupsfrændi was a *hirðmaðr* of Hákon the Elder. Þorleifr Ketilsson, *hreimr* ‘scream, cry’, was Gizurr Þorvaldsson’s nephew, the son of his sister. He died in 1289. Auðunn kollr, ‘shaven head’, was a messenger. Árni beiskr, ‘the bitter’, died on 22 October 1253.
- 159 Þorgils Böðvarsson *skarði*, ‘harelip’, was born in 1226 and died on 22 January 1258.
- 160 Finnbjörn Helgason was a *hirðmaðr* and *umboðsmaðr* of King Hákon the Elder and died on 29 September 1255; Arnórr Eiríksson was also a *hirðmaðr*; Eysteinn hvíti, ‘the white’, was a *stýrimaðr*, ‘skipper’, and died on 20 September 1253. Sigurðr Eindriðason *tapsi*, ‘tippler[?]’, was archbishop in Niðaróss from 1231 and died on 6 March 1252. He tried to introduce clerical celibacy in Norway and obtained a special decree in 1237 from Pope Gregory IX in support of his demands. Hereafter clerical celibacy took root in Norway (Jóhannesson 1974: 217). Sörli was archbishop of Niðaróss from 1253 and died on 1 May 1254. The feast day of St Gregory was 12 March.
- 161 In a footnote, Benediktsson (1968: 232) gives the spelling of the vellum MS as *Hvinverjadal*. He continues: ‘þar virðist dalurinn draga nafn af Þorgeiri hinum hvinverska ... virðist snemma hafa komizt ruglingur á nafnið. Menn hafa ekki verið á eitt sáttir um hvar dalurinn hafi verið. ...Líklegast virðist að átt sé við dalkvosina hringum Hveravelli, og svo taldi bæði Eggert Ólafsson og Svein Pálsson; sú er og skoðun Jóns Eypórssonar, sem siðastur hefur rannsakað þetta mál’.
- 162 Gizurr had been anxious to maintain amicable relations with the bishops of Iceland on three counts: a) Bishop Sigvarðr’s episcopal seat, Skálholt, was situated in the Árnessþing where he held a chieftaincy, b) Bishop Heinrekr’s episcopal seat was in Skagafjörðr, the district which the king had placed under the authority of Gizurr, even though the latter had no justifiable claim to power in that part of the country and c) he was eager to marry Gróa Álfsdóttir, by whom he had two sons; church officials had denied his previous request for permission to marry her. Jóhannesson (1974: 220) speculates that

it is rather unlikely that members of the clergy agreed to this marriage without receiving some favour in exchange, and that their consent was given in return for Gizurr's promise to support the resolution [that in areas of disagreement Canon Law would supersede the law of the land (the Public Law)] passed by the Court of Legislature in 1253. Abbot Brandr was a man of great influence, held in high regard by the people, and both he and Bishop Heinrekr were determined spokesmen for the ecclesiastical cause. At the time in question both men were close friends of Gizurr.

163 **Bergr Ámundason** was a **hirðmaðr** and died on 22 January 1258.

164 **Kolbeinn Dufgusson grön**, 'moustache', died on 25 January 1254; **Ári Ingimundarson** was born in 1226 and died in 1258.

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Sunnlendingafjórðungr, m., the southern quarter of Iceland; Sunnlendingafjórðungi, 223.

Svínafell, n., a farm in Öraefi, E; Svínaelli, 11, 68; Svínafells, 94, 334, 345.

Tunga, f.; Tungu, 164.

Vatnsdalr, m., a district in Húnavatnssýsla, N; Vatnsdal, 576.

Vestmannaeyjar, f. pl., S; islands off Eyjafjöll, 'the Isles of the Westmen'; Vestmannaeyjum, 282.

Viðey, f., an isle and a cloister, 18.

Vinverjadalr, m., an enclosed valley in the mountain desert, Kjölr, between the north and the south of Iceland; **Vinverjadal**, 645, 647.

Þykkvabær, m., a farm and cloister in Álftaver, E; **Þykkvabæ**, dat., 7, 76, 555.

Þykkvabær, m., a farm in Landbrot; **Þykkvabæ**, dat. 515.

GLOSSARY

All the words in the text are glossed, but only a selection of references to their occurrence is given: generally, when a word occurs repeatedly, only the first five occurrences are listed, followed by etc. The references are by line numbers. When a word occurs twice in the same line, this is indicated thus: 56(2x). When the word has two different grammatical functions in the same line, each is indicated separately: 442(1) refers to the first occurrence in the line, and 442(2) to the second.

The usual Scandinavian order of letters in the alphabet is adopted, so that *ð* follows *d*, and *þ*, *æ*, *ö*, and *œ* follow *z*. The simple and accented vowels are separated, thus *a* and *á*, *e* and *é*, *i* and *í*, *o* and *ó*, *u* and *ú*, *y* and *ý* stand each by themselves. The accented vowels *é* and *ý* do not occur at the beginning of words in this text.

List of Abbreviations

acc.	accusative	indic.	indicative
act.	active	infin.	infinitive
adj.	adjective	lit.	literally
adv.	adverb	m.	masculine
art.	article	n.	neuter
card.	cardinal	nom.	nominative
collect.	collective	num.	number
compar.	comparative	ord.	ordinal
conj.	conjunction	part.	participle
contr.	contracted	pass.	passive
cop.	copulative	pers.	person
dat.	dative		personal
decl.	declined	pl.	plural
	declension	pleonast.	pleonastically
def.	definite	prep.	preposition
dem.	demonstrative	preps	prepositions
disj.	disjunctive	pres.	present
ellipt.	elliptical	pret.	preterite
etc.	and so on	pron.	pronoun
f.	feminine	recipr.	reciprocally
fig.	figurative	reflex.	reflexive
gen.	genitive	sing.	singular
Icel.	Iceland	subj.	subjunctive
i.e.	that is	subst.	substantive
idiom.	idiomatic	suff.	suffixed
imperat.	imperative	sup.	supine
impers.	impersonal	superl.	superlative
indecl.	indeclinable	temp.	temporal
indef.	indefinite	trans.	transitive
		w.v.	weak verb

A

af, prep. with dat., ‘from’;– 37, 63, 79, 88, 99, etc.;

‘out of’;– **af síkinu**, ‘out of the ditch’, 426(1);

‘of’;– 120, 137, 206, 250, 268, etc.; **af því**, ‘because of that, as a result of that’, 558;

‘off’;– 232, 421, 424, 425, 426(2), etc.;

with the notion of ‘among, with’;– 40, 180;

temp., ‘past’;– **af nóni**, ‘past three o’clock’, 514.

af-liðinn, adj.; **at afliðinni veizlu**, f. dat., ‘at the conclusion of the feast’, part. as a noun, 591.

aldri, adv., ‘never, not’; 149, 204, 346, 527.

al-hugi, m., ‘sincerity, earnestness’; **alhuga**, dat. sing., 370.

alþingi, n., ‘the parliament or the general assembly’ (GN 23); dat. pl., 207, 288.

all-brátt, n. of **all-bráðr** as adv., ‘very soon’, 603.

all-mikill, adj., ‘very great’; **allmikit**, n. nom. sing., 497.

allr, **öll**, **allt**, **alt**; pl. **allir**, **allar**, **öll**;– adj. or subst. sing., ‘all, entire, the whole’; **allr Norðlendinga-fjórðungr**, ‘the whole of the northern quarter’, m. acc. sing., 636, 637; **um alla biskupssýslu**, ‘throughout the entire diocese’, 639; **alla fylgðarmenn sína**, ‘all his followers’, 375; **hann bað alla skunda**, used absol., ‘he bade all to speed’, 164; **allir heimamenn hans**, ‘all those of his household, all his servants’, m. nom. pl., 129; 138, 267, 277, 351, etc.; **allra mála sinna**, ‘all of his affairs, suits’, n. gen. pl., 618; **allra þeira hernað**, m. gen. pl., ‘all of the plunder’, 41; **rak þaðan í brott fé alt**, ‘drove away all the livestock (sheep)’, n. acc. pl., 67; 220, 605; **öll þau mál**, ‘all those suits, cases’, m. acc. sing., 291; **öll ryðug**, ‘entirely

rusty', 392; öllu fé því, 'all the money, possessions', acc. pl., 312, 506, 582, 583, 604; öllum, dat. pl., 256, 331, 500, 584, 638; reð þá öllum Sunnlendinga-fjórðungi, lit. 'had control over the entire southern quarter', dat. pl., 223; með þessum öllum mönnum, 'between all these men', 32; 40, 42.

all-vel, adv., 'very well', 343.

al-máttigr, adj., 'almighty'; almáttkan, m. acc. sing., 453.

al-vópnaðr, adj. part., 'in full armour'; alvópnaðir, m. nom. pl., 398.

al-væpni, n., 'full armour', dat. sing., 463.

andask, refl., 'to breathe one's last, expire, die', 634; andaðist, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 4, 43, 51, 363, 370.

and-lát, n., 'last breath, death', acc. sing., 633.

and-lit, n., 'a face, countenance'; andliti, dat. sing., 395, 412, 477.

angra, 'to anger, vex, grieve'; angraði, pret. sing., 577.

annask, with acc., a law term in cases involving support:— at annask, 'to support, take care of, provide for', 56, 59.

annarr, önnur, annat; pl. aðrir; gen. pl. annarra; dat. sing. f. annarri:— adj., 'other'; m. sing., 239; önnur, f. sing., 539; annarra, m. gen. pl., 340, 365, 631, 659; annarri, f. dat. sing., 393; aðrar, f. acc. pl. 131; aðrir, m. nom. pl., 668; annat, n. nom. sing., 50; annat used as a subst., 370; öðru, n. dat. sing., 142; öðrum, dat. pl., 79, 255, 371, 582, 650; annarr ... annarr, 'one – other', 263–64; ok skyldi annarr eyrir upp gefask, er annarr var goldinn, 'and for every eyrir paid a second eyrir had to be submitted', 297; n. used as adv., annat hvárt ... eðr, 'either ... or', 602; 'one of two, the other': Þormóðr hét staðarprestr, annarr Hjalti, þriði Sæmundr, 'one parish priest was called Þormóðr, the second Hjalti and the third Sæmundr', 443; a card. num., 'the second': í annat sinn, 'for the second time', n. acc. sing.,

505, 537; hann átti annat bú, n. acc. sing., 'he owned another or a second farm', 259; 'the next following': annan dag Páska, m. acc. sing., 'the second day of Easter', 364; annat, n. used as a subst.: ok segir honum annat óráðliga, 'and told him anything else was inadvisable', 237; 'other, different': ok fann ekki á honum annan veg en, 'and found/perceived nothing different in him except that', 460; annan verra, 'something worse than that', 507.

aptr, adv., 'backwards, back, back again', with motion, connected with verbs denoting 'to go, move', 166, 428, 623, 651; færa aptr, 'repay', 57; fær aptr ríki sitt, 272; gekk aptr, 'returned', 508; settisk aptr, 'desisted from', esp. of a journey, i.e. 'to stay at home', 560.

arðr-oxi (-uxi), m., 'a plough-ox'; arðryxn, acc. pl., 319.

at, prep. with dat.:-

loc., of position, indicating presence 'at, near, by, upon'; e.g. at Svínafelli, 'at Svínafell', 11, 14, 68, 244, 245, etc.;

loc. with motion, 'towards, against', 122, 405, 429, 433, 471; 'to go at, attack', 154, 429, 433, 495, 501, 533; ríðr þar at, 'arrives', 73; kom at, 'arrived, came to', 543;

temp., denoting a point or period of time, the moment when something happens, 144, 212, 233, 257, 584, etc.;

rel. pron., 'which, who, that, that which'; 33, 54, 329;

conj., 'that', 35(2), 52, 56(1), 67, 79, etc.; svá at, 'so that', 277, 399, 427, 458, 506, etc.;

as the simple mark of the infinitive, 'to': at finna, 'to visit', 40, 336; at færa, 'to bring, to take', 57; at segja, 'to tell', 76, 403; at sjá, 'to look over, investigate', 55; 'to see, behold', 649; at vinna, 'to effect something', 504, etc.;

in adv. phrases of time, denoting uninterrupted succession: at því, 'thereafter', 190, 583;

other adv. usages: at því, 'thus, in that way' 35(1), 82, 156, 191; því at, 'because', 40, 41, 81, 137, 328, etc.; með því at, 'as, because, in consequence of', 237; at ráði ábóta, 'on the advice of the abbot', 564; at mæðleikum, 'deservedly, fairly, properly', 241; at vanda, 'as usual', 388; at óvörum, 'unexpectedly', 605.

at-burðr, m., esp. in pl., ‘events, matters, circumstances’; atburði, acc. pl., 500.

at-för, f., ‘assault, attack’, 668; atfara, gen. pl., 214.

at-görð, f. ‘repair, restoration’; atgörðir, pl., ‘cure, medical treatment’, 35.

auðr, adj., ‘empty, deserted’; auð af mönnum, ‘void of/without people, deserted’, n. nom. pl., 137.

auðveldr, adj. ‘easy’; auðvelt, n. sing., 226.

auga, n., ‘the eye’; augum, dat. pl., 457.

auka, pres. indic. eyk; jók, jóku, aukit:– ‘to add to, increase, strengthen, augment, enhance’, 272; aukið, pres. 2nd pers. pl., 126.

austan, adv., ‘from the east’, 39; joined with fyrir with a following acc. denoting direction: fyrir austan kirkju, ‘to the east of the church’, 44, 274.

austr, m., ‘the east’; used as a prep. with acc.:– fyrir austr, ‘east of’, 7; adv., ‘towards the east, eastwards’, 254, 401, 487.

Á

á, prep. with dat.:–

generally ‘on, upon’, 275, 392, 409, 410, 542;

commonly used in connection with the proper names of countries ending in -land: á Íslandi, ‘in Iceland’, 40;

temp. of a particular point or period of time: ‘in, in the course of, during’: á fimmta ári, ‘during, in the fifth year’, 3, 4, 6, 45; á því sumri, ‘during that summer’, 233, 246; á Langaföstu, ‘during Lent’; 361, á Skírdag, ‘on Maundy Thursday’, 362;

loc. with the notion of remaining in a place, ‘in, at’, 23, 34, 217, 249, 253, etc.;

‘at’, var á þingi, ‘attended/was present at the thing’, 33, 36(1), 85, 207, 226, etc.;

in many adv. phrases: á lífi, ‘alive’, 527;

prep. with acc.:-

loc. with the notion of moving to a place, 'onto, towards, into, out of', 115, 119, 133, 163(2x), 164, etc.; *á fund*, 'to find, meet', 269; *á leið*, 'on the way', 352, 593; connected with trans. verbs, the prep. following the verb: *leggr á*, 'to put upon, to value, to tax', 151; *drag ekki á þat*, 'do not insinuate, intimate that', 359; with verbs denoting 'to hear' or 'to see': *heyrir á stefnuna*, 'hearkens to, listens to the summons/citation', 63; 447; denoting parts of the body: *á gjósæðinni*, 'from the artery', 36(2); *á hálsinn*, 'at the neck', 163, 458; *á hár*, 'of hair', 464, 467; *á hendr*, 'onto/into one's hands', 296.

á, f., 'a river'; *ána*, acc. sing., 163.

á. See *eiga*.

ábóti, m., 'abbot', 18, 77, 84, 86, 88, etc.; *ábóta*, gen. sing., 6, 76, 340, 564; dat. sing., 79, 339, 448, 550, 552; acc. sing., 373.

áðr, conj., 'before, ere', 210, 370, 578; *þat sumar, er áðr um várit*, 'that summer, when earlier in the spring', 626; adv., *en áðr*, 'than before', 461; *um vetrinn áðr*, 'the year before, the previous year', 568.

á-eggjan, f., 'egging on, prompting, instigation', dat. sing., 671.

ágætr, adj., 'famous, goodly, excellent, superior' (GN 11); *ágætr höfðingi*, 'excellent chief', 8.

á-kafliga, adv., 'very, extremely', 409.

ár, n., 'year'; *ári*, dat., 3; of time, *á því ári*, 'in that year', 6, 246.

á-sauðr, m., 'a ewe'; *ásauðar*, gen. sing., used collectively, 319.

átján, card. number, 'eighteen', 470, 649.

átta, card. number, 'eight'; átta tigu, 'eight tens = eighty', 107; átta tigur, 171; átta tigi, 214.

átt, átti, áttu. See eiga.

B

bað, n., 'bath, bathing' (GN 123); baði, dat. sing., 382.

bað. See beiða and biðja.

bað-stofa, f., 'a bathroom', in which people could take a steambath; baðstofu, acc. sing., 166.

bak, n., of horseback; hljóp af baki, 'leapt off his horse', 426; vill færa hann af baki, 'wants to pull him off the horse', 421; 424, 425; as an adv., acc., fell þegar á bak apr, 'immediately falls backwards', 428.

banna, 'to forbid, hinder, prohibit', 102.

barn, n., 'bairn, child'; fór með barni, dat. sing., 'was with child', 45; börn, nom. pl., 19, 22; börn, acc. pl., 25.

báðir, báðar, bæði; gen. beggja:— adj., pron. dual, 'both', 467, 468(2x), 616; báðum, dat. pl., 140, 421; beggja, gen., 304.

bátr, m., 'open boat, ship's boat' (GN 101); bát, acc. sing., 277.

beiða, 'to ask, request'; beiðir, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 101.

beiskr, adj. 'bitter, angry', as a nickname, 622.

bera, pres. berr; bar, báru, borit: ‘to bear’;– **bar af** honum höggit, ‘parried the blow off him’, pret. sing., 232; berr, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 128, 539; fig., berr upp, ‘sets forth, states’, 73; hefði eigi til borit, ‘had not happened, befallen’, part., n., 329; við berisk, ‘prevented, stopped’, 332.

berja; reflex., **berjask**, ‘to fight’, 571.

betr, adv., compar. to vel, ‘better’, 181; bezt, superl., with a gen., 412, 528; sem bezt, ‘as best (they could)’, 344.

betri, betra, adj., from góðr; compar., **betra en dauði**, ‘better than death’, 524.

beztr, adj., superl. to góðr, ‘best’, 237; bezta, m. acc. sing., 88; hinn bezti, ‘the best’, m. nom. sing., 346.

biðja, pres. bið; bað, báðu, beðit:– ‘to beg, pray, request, order’, 110, 475; bað, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 74, 77, 86, 103; **bað fyrir öllum þeim jafnsaman**, ‘prayed for all of them together’, 331, 509, 581; báðu, pret. pl., 444; biðr, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 144, 214, 336; var beðinn til, m. part., ‘proposed, made an offer for a woman’s hand’, 90; ‘was requested’, 371; beðit, n. part., 369.

binda, pres. bind, pret. batt, 2nd pers. bzt, pl. bundu; bundit:– ‘to bind’; bundit, in the sense of making or contracting a fellowship, part., 578; bindr um höndina, ‘binds up his arm’, 540.

biskup, m., ‘bishop’ (GN 12), 14, 26, 245, 626, 630, etc.; biskups, gen. sing., 10, 25; biskupi, dat. sing., 644, 661.

biskups-frændi, m., ‘a relative of a bishop’, 621; biskupsfrænda, acc. sing., 569.

biskups-sýsla, f., ‘a diocese, episcopate’; biskups-sýslu, dat. sing., 639.

bíða, pres. bíð, pret. beið, biðu; beðit:– ‘to bide, wait for’, 579.

bjóða, pres. **býð**, pret. **bauð**, **buðu**; **boðit**:- ‘to bid, invite, offer’; **bauð**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 48, 187, 307, 433, 575, etc.; **býðr**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 71, 95.

bjúgr, adj., ‘hooked, crooked’; **bjúgt**, n. nom. sing., 395.

blár, adj., ‘blue, dark blue, dark, black’; **bláum**, m. dat. sing., 462.

blíðr, adj., ‘pleasant, mild, gentle, soft; bland, fawning, enticing’ (GN 140), 464.

blóð, n., ‘blood’, 473; acc., with **taka**: ‘to take, to let blood’, 36.

blæða, ‘to bleed, to flow’ (of blood); **blæddi**, pret. sing., 459, 512.

boð, n., ‘a bid, offer’; **bauð ekki boð**, ‘made no bid or offer’, acc. sing., 575; **boðit**, acc. sing. with art. suff., 72, 307.

bóndi, m., ‘husbandman, landowner, farmer’, (GN 13, 16), 27, 43, 128; **bónða**, gen. sing., 17; dat. sing., 122, 364, 389; acc. sing., 174; **bóndum**, dat. pl., 180; **bændr**, nom. pl., 181, 186, 196, 267, 570; acc. pl., 185, 260.

bráðr, adj.; **brátt**, neut., used as adv., ‘soon, shortly’, 162, 640, 666; **þat fannst brátt á**, ‘it could soon be perceived, it soon became apparent’, 51.

bregða, pres., **bregð**; pret. sing., **brá**, 2nd pers., **brátt**; pl., **brugðu**, sup., **brugðit**:- act. with dat., ‘to draw, brandish a weapon’, 139; **brá**, pret. sing., 426; **brá við hendinni**, ‘warded off with her hand’, 232.

bréf, n., ‘a letter, written deed’ (GN 93), 256; acc. sing., 367, 587, 627; **á því bréfi**, ‘in that letter’, dat. sing., 371; acc. pl. 627.

brjóta, pres. **brýt**; pret. **braut**; pl. **brutu**; sup. **brotið**:- ‘to break’; **brýtr**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 114; **brutu**, pret. pl., 672.

brosa, pres. **brosi**; pret. **brosti**:- ‘to smile’; **brosandi**, part., ‘smiling’, 494.

brott, as adv., ‘away’, either with or without the prep. **á** or **í** (GN 35); 67, 113, 145, 167, 176, etc.

brott-ferð, f., ‘departure’; acc. sing., 184; **brottferðar**, gen. sing., 101; **brottferðina**, acc. sing., art. suff., 102.

bróðir (gen. dat. acc. **bróður**), m., ‘brother’, 64, 85, 172, 358, 365, etc.; **bróður**, dat. sing., 95, 111; acc. sing., 26; **bræðr**, nom. pl., 13, 184, 219, 339, 468; **bræðra**, gen. pl., 121, 152, 160, 305, 549, etc.; **bræðrum**, dat. pl., 98, 140, 154, 190.

bróður-dóttir, f., ‘brother’s daughter, niece’; **bróðurdóttur**, acc. sing., 91.

bróður-son, m., ‘a brother’s son, nephew’; **bróðursonu**, acc. sing., 175.

brutu. See **brjóta**.

brúð-laup, n., ‘a wedding feast’; acc. sing., 654; **brúðlaupi**, dat. sing., 655; **brúðlaupin**, dat. sing. with art. suff., 244, 245.

brynja, f., ‘a coat of mail’; **brynju**, dat. sing., 392; **brynjur**, acc. sing., 321.

bryti, m., ‘a steward, bailiff’ (GN 52), 117, 482.

brýtr. See **brjóta**.

buklari, m., ‘a buckler, (small round) shield’; **buklara**, dat. sing., 410; acc. sing., 393, 537.

bú, n., ‘house, estate, the stock in a farmstead’, 65, 259, 266, 379, 566; **búi**, dat. sing., 253, 380.

búa, pres. **bý**; pret. sing. **bjó**, 2nd pers., **bjótt**; pl., **bjoggu**; sup., **búið**, part., **búinn**:– ‘to live, abide, dwell; to farm, to run a farm’, 252; **bjó**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 11, 16, 21, 23, 24, etc.; **búið**, sup., ‘done’, 59, 606; **búinn**, m., past part., ‘to dress, equip’, 391; **býr**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 95; **búnir**, part., used as adj., ‘ready’, 115.

búlka-brún, f., ‘the edge of the cargo or freight stacked on the deck of the ship’, 275.

bú-þegn, m., ‘a husbandman, farmer’, an established man who has his own household, 346.

bygð, f., ‘residence, abode’; **fór bygðum**, dat. pl., ‘removed his house and home, changed his abode’, 562.

byrgja, ‘to shut someone up somewhere’; **vóru byrgðir í einni lítilli stofu**, part., ‘were shut up in a little room’, 513.

bæði, adv., ‘both’, 243; with conj., connecting two parts of a sentence: **bæði ... ok** ‘both ... and’, 174, 454.

bær (**bær**), m., ‘farmstead, house’; **bæ**, acc. sing., 164; **bæinn**, acc. sing. with art. suff., 166; **bænum**, dat. sing., 122.

bæta, a law term, ‘to give one redress, make good a wrong inflicted, atone’, 526; **bætt**, pres. sing., 445.

D

dagr, m., ‘day’, an astronomical day of twenty-four hours (GN 102), pl., 279; **dag**, acc. sing., 364, 376; **degi**, dat. sing., **lýst af degi**, lit. ‘it brightens from the day’, i.e. ‘daylight appears, it dawns’, 148; **um daginn**, acc. sing. with art. suff., ‘during the day’, 482.

dauði, m., ‘death’, 524; **dauða**, acc. sing., 513; **dauðann**, acc. sing. with art. suff., 454.

deila, ‘to deal, divide’; **sér hinn bezta hlut af deila**, ‘to have emerged with the highest honours’, 89; **er þeir höfðu um deilt**, a law term, ‘which they had a lawsuit about, contended about’, part., 303.

deyja, pres. dey; pret. dó, 2nd pers. dótt, pl. dó:– ‘to die’, 437; dó, pret. sing., 559.

digr, adj., ‘stout, big’; digrastr, superl., 538.

digr-nefjaðr, adj., ‘thick/big-nosed’, 395.

djákni, m., ‘a deacon’, 158; djákninn, nom. sing. with art. suff., 162, 163, 165; djákninn, acc. sing. with art. suff., 161.

djúpr, adj., ‘deep’, of a wound; djúpt, n. nom. sing., 502.

dó. See deyja.

dóttir, f., ‘daughter’, 9, 264; dóttur, acc. sing., 12, 16.

draga, pres. dreg; pret. dró, pl. drógu; part. dreginn:– ‘to draw, drag, carry, pull’, 81, 546; drag ekki á þat, lit. ‘do not drag that’, i.e. ‘do not intimate, insinuate that’, imperat. sing., 359; dró lið saman, ‘assembled/collected troops’, 107.

draumr, m., ‘a dream’; draum, acc. sing., 594, 601; segir draum sinn, ‘tells his dream’ (to others), 386.

dráp, n., ‘slaughter’, 577.

drepa, pres. drep; pret. drap, 2nd pers. drapt, pl. drápu, part. drepinn:– ‘to kill, put to death’, 308, 474, 523, 569, 673; drepinn, 489.

dreyma, ‘to dream’; impers. and with a double acc., that of the dreamer and the dream or person appearing; dreynt, part., 595(2x).

drífa, pres. dríf; pret. dreif, pl. drifu:– ‘to drive’; drífa sik, ‘to exert oneself, to yield, to give in’, 156.

dróttins-dagr, m., ‘the Lord’s day, Sunday’; dróttinsdag, acc. sing., 274.

drykk, m., ‘drink, beverage’; **drykk**, acc. sing., 280.

dúkr, m., ‘a towel’; **dúkinn**, acc. sing. with art. suff., 385.

dún-klæði, n., ‘eider-down covering, blanket’, acc. sing., 321.

dvelja, pres. **dvel**; **dvaldi**, **dvalði**:– reflex., pret. sing., **dvelsk**, ‘tarried’, 400.

dyrr, n.& f. pl., ‘doorway, door’ (GN 62); **dyrrin**, acc. pl. with art. suff., 134.

dýr, n., ‘animal, beast’, used of wild beasts, such as bears, 599.

E

eðr, conj., ‘or’, 188(2x), 256, 423, 491, 579, etc.

ef, conj., ‘if, in case’, 136, 142, 235, 255, 328, etc.

efni, n., ‘means’ in the sense of property, acc. sing., 105; acc. pl., 55; ‘reason, intention’: **en ef þér vilið með öðru efni fara**, ‘but if you want to pursue a different cause/change your behaviour/go with a different reason’, 142.

eggja, ‘to egg on, incite, goad’, with acc. of the person, gen. of the thing; **eggjar**, pres., 3rd pers. sing., 172.

eiðr, m., ‘an oath’; **eið**, acc. sing., 292, 306.

eið-færa, a law term, **lét eiðfæra ómaga á landseta**, ‘assigned the responsibility for maintaining a destitute pauper to a tenant ratified by oath’, 54.

eiga, pres. **á**, 2nd pers. **átt**; pret. **átti**, pl. **eigum**:– pret.-pres. verb, ‘to own, have, possess, marry, have in marriage’, 211, 220; **heimila eiga**, ‘to have at one’s free

disposal', 68; **undir þér eiga**, 'to have in your power, in your hands', 147; **á**, pres. sing., 599; **átt**, part., 204; **átti**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 12, 16, 18, 21, 22, etc., **hann átti annat bú**, n. acc. sing., 'he owned another or a second farm', 259; **áttu**, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 25, 27, 206, 263; **ætti**, pret. subj., 56.

eigi, adv., 'not' (GN 25), 35, 56, 59, 63, 74, etc.

eign, f., 'property, possession, patrimony'; acc. sing., 206; **staðar eign**, acc. sing., 'church property', 312; chiefly in pl., 'estates, landed property', opp. to **lausafé** or movable property: **eignir**, acc. pl., 197; **eignum**, dat. pl., 221.

eigna, vv. reflex., **eignask**, 'get, become the owner of', 209.

einn, adj., pl. **einir**, acc. sing. **einn**: 'one':—

indef., 'a, an, a certain one', m. acc. sing., 159, 216, 280; **ein**, f. nom. sing., 325; **einni**, f. dat. sing., 513; **eina** f. acc. sing., 624; **eitt**, n. nom. sing., 33, 54; **einu**, n. dat. sing., 558, 629; **einum**, m. dat. sing., 402; card. num., 'one': m. nom. sing., 611.

ein-sætt, adj., 'evident, what clearly ought to be done'; **at eigi mun einsætt**, 'that it would not be advisable/the best course', 475.

eira, 'to yield'; **eirir undan þá en fyrst**, 'retreats/withdraws/yields at first', 3rd pers. sing. pres., 176.

ek, gen. **mín**, dat. **mér**, acc. **mik**; pl. **vér**, gen. **vár**, dat. & acc. **oss**; dual **vit**, gen. & dat. **okkar** and **okkr**:— 1st pers. pron., 'I', 111, 125, 145, 149, 150, etc.; **mér**, dat. sing., 'me', 183, 328, 383, 524, 534, etc.; **mik**, acc. sing., 'me', 182, 526; **vér**, 1st pers. pl. 'we', 144, 472, 546; **okkar** dual gen., 1st pers. sing., 'our', in dual, 152, 360, 599; **oss**, pl. dat. and acc., 'us', 75, 417.

ekki, nom. and acc. neut. sing. of **engi**, 'nothing, nought' (GN 25), 385, 447, 460, 503, 544;

used as an adv., 'not', 71, 151, 155, 359, 384, etc.

eld-hús, n., 'the hall, parlour' (GN 53); eldahúsi, dat. sing., 118, 516; eldhúsinu, dat. sing. with art. suff., 119.

eldhús-dyrr, n. 'the doorway of the parlour/hall'; eldhús dura, acc. pl., 482.

ella, adv., 'else, otherwise'; eðr ... ella, 'or else', 579.

ellifu, card. num., 'eleven', 491.

elldri. See gamall.

en, disj. conj., 'but, yet, still, while', 42, 48, 50, 71, 77, etc.;

without disj., 'and': Halldóra Arnórsdóttir var móðir hans en móðir Halldóru var Guðrún, 9, 32, 238, 239, 264, etc.;

slight conj. sense, to denote the progress of the tale, often to begin a sentence: 67, 90, 133, 144, 174, etc.;

conj., 'than': Egill þakkar honum boðit ok lézt lengr þar myndi vera en með Sæmundi, 72; 81, 181, 347(1), 606;

with compar. adv.: betra en dauði, 'better than death', 524;

en fyrst, 'at first', 176; en þó, (but) 'still, yet', 212, 352; fyrr en lýsti, 'before dawn', 146; heldr ... en, 'rather ... than', 211; fyrst ... en þá síðan, 'first ... and then, second', 313; en áðr, 'than before', 461;

enn temp. adv., 'yet, still', 606; gott væri enn at lifa, 'it would be good yet (still) to be alive', i.e. 'to live longer', 471; enn sem fyrr, 'as before', 493; þá enn, 'then', 505.

engi, 'not one':—

used as adj. with a subst., 'none, no, not any': 239, 451, 490, engan, m. acc. sing., 82, 156, 280; enga, f. acc. sing., 135, 279, 450; engir, nom. pl., 211; engu, n. dat. sing., 240, 484; engum, dat. pl., 255; einskis, gen. sing. masc. neut., 343;

indef. pron., from einn, 'one', and the negative suffix -gi; 'none, no, no one, not any', 479, 493, 596, 597; 'nobody', 138, 226.

eftir, prep. with dat. and acc.:— 'after';

with dat.:-

loc., 325, 401, 442, 448; ellipt., denoting 'leave behind': *var eftir*, 66;

with acc.:-

temp., 'after', 60, 107, 116, 176, 193, etc.;

denoting succession, inheritance, remembrance, etc.: 48;

as adv. and ellipt. without case, 100, 329; *um haustit eftir*, 'the autumn after', 244, 284, 334, 565, 613.

eftirgöngu-maðr, m., 'a follower'; *eftirgöngumenn*, acc. pl., 346.

eftir-reið, f., 'pursuit on horseback'; *eftirreiðar*, gen. sing., 172, 174.

er, conj., 'that', 161, 459, 497; *fyrir þat er*, 'because', 573; *hvárt er*, 'whether ... or', 610;

temp., 'when', 51(x2), 316, 414, 517;

with historical particle: *ok er*, 'and when', 73, 113, 114, 165, 171, etc.;

conj. and adv. joined with a demonstrative particle, loc., *þar er*, 'there where', 89, 496, 508, 537, 625; *þá er*, 'then when', 1, 219, 225, 269, 574; *en er*, 'but when', 310, 353, 593, 599; *eftir er*, 'when', 244; *brátt er*, 'shortly after, as soon as', 667;

rel. pron., 'who, which, that' (where the prep. is often understood, e.g. 'in which'), 6, 13, 17, 22, 23, etc.; *þat er eftir var sumars*, 'for that which was left of the summer', 100.

er. See also *vera*.

erendi, n. 'the result/fruit of his errand/mission'; acc. sing., 488.

erfð, f. 'inheritance'; *erfðum*, dat. pl., 207.

eru. See *vera*.

erki-biskup, m., 'an archbishop'; *erkibiskups*, gen. sing., 633, 635.

eta, pres. et; pret. *át*, pl. *átu*; part. *etið*:- 'to eat', 144; *átu*, pret. pl., 280.

ey, f., 'an island'; **eyjanna**, gen. pl., 283.

eygðr, adj., 'having eyes' of a certain kind; **vel eygðr**, 'fine-eyed', 411.

eyrir, m., 'ounce of silver, eighth part of a **mörk**; money (in general), possessions, property', 297.

eystra, adj., compar., 'more eastern'; **eystra á Rangárvöllum**, 'to the east of Rangárvellir', 23;

F

faðir, m., 'father', 14, 51, 153, 518, 597; **föður**, dat. sing., 46; acc. sing., 48.

fagnaðar-fundr, n., 'a joyful meeting', 650.

fagr, adj., 'fair'; **með fögrum orðum**, 'with fine words/speeches', 372.

fall, n., 'fall, death in battle', acc. sing., 224.

falla, pres. **fellr** ; pret. **fell**, pl. **féllu**; part. **fallinn**:- 'to fall'; **fell þegar á bak aptr**, 'immediately falls backwards', pres. sing., 427, 453; **felldi**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 37.

fara, pres. **ferr**; pret. **fór**, 2nd pers. **fórt**, pl. **fóru**; sup. **farit**; part. **farinn**, pret. subj. **færa**:- 'to move, travel, proceed'; 108, 142, 236, 254, etc.; **fara útlaga af eignum**, 'is banished, goes into banishment' (with the forfeit of his property), 220; **ekki mun nú farit at því**, 'it is of no consequence now, it doesn't make any difference, it doesn't matter', sup., 151; **farnir**, part., 244; **farinn**, part., pass.; **um farinn veg**, 'on one's journey', 349; **vel farinn í andliti**, fig., 'well-favoured of countenance', i.e. 'handsome', 412; **ferr**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 119, 164, 165, 166, 213; **fór**, pret. sing., 62, 105, 107, 199, 214, 228, etc.; **fór af landi**, 'travelled from the country', i.e. 'abroad', 615, 621; **fór bygðum**, dat. pl., 'removed his house and home,

changed his abode', 562; idiom., *fór með barni*, 'was with child', 45; *fór fram*, 'happened, took place', 240; *fór útan*, 'went abroad', 257, 560; *fóru*, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 272, 297, 300, 616, 621, etc.; with prep.: *fóru at bænum*, 'moved, headed towards the homestead', 122; *hverju þeir fóru fram*, 'how they acted, what they were up to', 77; *fóru útan*, 'went abroad', 558; *fóru þeir út*, 'they went from Norway to Iceland', 629; *fær*, imperat., 484; *færi*, pret. subj., 109, 111, 555; *færa*, subj., 'to repay': *fær aptr ríki sitt*, 272; *vill færa hann af baki*, 'wants to pull him off the horse', 421; trans., formed from the pret., *færa*, 'to bring'; *færa aptr ómagann*, 'bring back the pauper', 57.

far-dagar, m. pl., 'removal days, flitting days', at the end of May (GN 82); *fardaga*, acc. sing., 193.

fast, adv., 'firmly, fast', 421, 422.

fasta, f., 'fast, Lent'; *um föstuna*, 'during Lent', 362.

fá, pres. *fæ*, 2nd pers. *fær*, pl. *fám*; pret. sing. *fékk*, pl. *fengu*, pret. subj. *fengja*:- 'to get, procure; give', 135, 445; *fékk*, pret. sing., 57, 158, 160, 206, 261, 399; *þá fékk hann orlof af Hákonni konungi*, 'then he got permission from King Hákon', 628; *fékk honum þá sömu öxi*, 'gave him that same axe', 488; 618, 628; 'to catch, seize', 543; 'married', 242, 243; *fengi*, pret. subj., 238.

fá-látr, adj., 'reserved, silent, cold', 466.

fá-liga, adv., 'coldly', 'unfriendly' in such a way as to betray/disclose displeasure, 657.

fá-mæltr, adj., 'few-worded, reticent, taciturn, uncommunicative', 395.

fár, adj., 'few', m. nom. sing., 604; *fá*, m. dat. pl., 375; *fám*, dat. pl., 308; *fátt*, n., as a noun, 'few', in the sense of 'few' or 'none, none at all', 65, 350, 643; *færi*, 'fewer', compar., 346.

feðgar, m. pl., 'father and son/sons'; *feðgum*, dat. pl., 650.

feginn, adj., ‘glad, joyful’, 338; **varð þá fegin**, ‘then became joyful, rejoiced’, f. nom. sing., 342.

feigr, adj., ‘death-bound, fated to die’; **vilið Guðmund feigan**, lit. ‘wish Guðmundr death-bound’, i.e. ‘wish his death’, acc. sing., 503.

fella, ‘to fell or slay’; **felldi**, pret. sing., 530; **felldi sóttina at honum**, ‘the sickness came upon him/felled him down’, 37.

feni, probably from **fen**, ‘a fen, quagmire, bog’; used as a nickname, 118.

ferð, f., ‘travel, journey; conduct, behaviour’; **ferð**, dat. sing., 141, 548, 670; acc. sing., 109, **ferðir**, acc. pl., 199; **ferðinni**, dat. sing., 670.

fasta, fig., ‘to fix’; **festi**, pres. subj., 233, 240.

fé, n., ‘property, money’; acc. sing., 49, 50, 58, 59, 66, etc.; **fjár**, gen. sing., 56, 104; **féit**, acc. sing. with art. suff., 322.

fékk. See **fá**.

fé-lagi, m., ‘fellow, mate, comrade, partner’; **félagar**, nom. pl., 511.

fé-maðr, m., ‘moneyed, rich, wealthy man’, i.e. a person who possesses property, 29.

fé-mætr, adj.; **fémætt**, n. acc. sing. as subst., ‘valuable’, i.e. something which has monetary value, 65.

féráns-dómr, m., ‘court of confiscation, execution, forfeiture’ (GN 111); **féránsdóm**, acc. sing., 311.

fé-skortr, m., ‘shortness of money’, 613.

fimm, card. num., ‘five’, 15, 130, 209, 300; **fimm tigur**, m. pl., ‘fifty’, 319, 320.

fimm-tán, card. num., ‘fifteen’, 301, 347.

fimmti, ordinal num., ‘fifth’; **fimmta**, dat., 3.

fingr, m., ‘a finger’; **fingrna**, gen. sing. with art. suff., 530; **fingrunum**, dat. pl. with art. suff., 502.

finna, pres. **finn**; pret. **fann**, 2nd pers. **fannt**; pl. **fundu**; sup. **fundit**; part. **fundinn**:– ‘to find, to meet, to visit’; 40, 136, 336, 373, 449; **finnr**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 235; **fann ekki á honum annan veg en**, ‘found/perceived nothing different in him except that’, 460; **fannst**, pret. impers., 500; fig.: **þat fannst brátt á**, ‘it could soon be perceived, it soon became apparent’, 51; **fannst fátt til**, ‘was little pleased with’, 643; **var þat fundit til**, sup., ‘that/it was given as a reason’, 374; **fundu**, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 185, 282; **fundust**, reflex. pret. pl., 576, 667; **finnask**, reflex., recipr. ‘to meet with one another’, 339.

fiskimaðr, m., ‘a fisherman’; **fiskimenn**, nom. pl., 282.

fjár. See **fé**.

fjárráðar-kostr, m., ‘means, resources, money, funds’; **fjárráðarkost**, acc. sing., 180.

fjár-upptekt, f., ‘seizure of one’s property’; **fjárupptektin**, nom. sing., art. suff., 80.

fjórði, ord. num., adj., ‘the fourth’, 281; **fjórða**, m. acc. sing., 376.

fjórir, card. num., num. adj., ‘four’, 277; **fjóra**, acc. masc., 319.

fjöl-menna, ‘to crowd, meet in crowds’; **fjölmennir**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 84, 222; **fjölmenti**, pret. sing., 565; **fjölmentu**, pret. pl., 568; **fjölment**, part., 652.

fjöl-menni, n., ‘many people, a crowd’, 93.

fjöl-mennr, adj., ‘numerous, with many people’, 641; **fjölmennir**, m. nom. pl., 640.

fjöl-ræðinn, 'talkative, garrulous, too intimate', adj.; fjölrætt, n. sing., 98.

fjörðr, m., 'a firth, bay'; fjörðu, acc. pl., 303.

fleiri, compar. adj., 'more', 173, 347; fleira, n. nom. sing., 385, 600.

flestr, superl. adj., fig., 'all, most (people)', 499; flest, n. nom. sing., 627; flestir, m. pl., 508; flestum, dat. pl., 480, 500.

flokkr, m., 'a body of men'; flokk, acc. sing., 220; vera fyrir flokki þessum, 'be over/lead this body of men', dat. sing., 125; flokkinn, acc. sing. with art. suff., 213.

flytja, pres. flyt; pret. flutti; sup. flutt:– 'to help, plead, intercede', 236; flutt, sup., 238; 'move, transport'; flutti, pret., 287; fluttu, pret. pl., 282, 549.

fóstr, n., 'the fostering of a child'; fóstrs, gen. sing., 49.

fóstri, m., nom. as vocative, 'foster-son', 149, 472; fóstra, dat. sing., 'foster-father', 87.

fótr, m., 'a foot; the foot and leg'; fót, acc. sing., 559.

fram, adv., generally applied to any motion outwards or towards the open, 'forward'; ríðr þá fram í götuskarðit, 'rides forward into the gully', 420; 'out of', 210, 627; with verbs: ok þat fór fram, 'and that happened/took place', 240; hverju þeir fóru fram, 'how they acted, what they were up to', 77; ef þetta gengi fram, 'if that should come to pass', 446; hefir fram mál, 'proceeds with the suit', 225; hélt sér vel fram, 'took on a dominant role, asserted himself', 52; var fram komit, 'had occurred', 81; with preps: fram yfir jól, 'until after Christmas', 105.

framan-verðr, adj., 'foreward, in the front; protruding'; framanverða, m. gen. sing., 'the tips' (of the fingers), 530; framanvert nefit, 'raised nosetip', n. acc. sing., 248.

frá, prep. with dat.:—

'from', 17, 114, 216, 303, 382, etc.;

'of, about, concerning', 192, 403, 541, 625;

fig., var frá kallaðr, 'was called away, died', 51; gekk frá, 'left', 476, 499, 511;

hvarf frá, 'turned from, cut short, left off', 225; þaðan frá, 'from that time', 368;

adv. or ellipt., 'away': fór frá, 'passed away, died', 578.

frétt, f., 'news, intelligence', 598.

frétta, 'to hear, get intelligence' about something; sekt Ögmundar fréttisk af þinginu, 'news about Ögmundr's penalty was reported from the thing', reflex., 310.

frið-liga, adv., 'peaceably', 142.

fríðr, adj., 'handsome', chiefly of the face, 464.

fróðr, adj., 'knowing, learned, well-instructed'; as a nickname (GN 30): Snorri hinn fróði, 'Snorri the Learned', 47.

frændi, m., 'kinsman (+ brother or son)'; 'cousin', 430, 599; frændr, nom. pl., 39, 126; acc. pl., 614; frænda, 'nephew', acc. sing., 336.

full-kominn, past part. as adj., 'perfect, complete', 152.

fundr, m., 'a meeting', 640; kómu á fund, 'to meet, to find', acc. sing., 269; fundi, dat. sing., 250, 643.

fús-liga, adv., 'willingly', 642.

fylgðar-maðr, m., 'a follower, attendant, guide', 160, 569; fylgðarmenn, nom. pl., 643, 672; acc. pl., 375; fylgðarmönnum, dat. pl., 315, 350.

fylgja, ‘to accompany, to follow’; **fig.**, ‘to back, help, side with’; **fylgðu**, pret. pl., 347.

fyrir, prep. with dat. or acc.:–

with dat., chiefly without the notion of movement:–

loc., ‘before, in front of’: 380(2x), 417, 457;

‘before one, in one’s way’: 155, 545;

‘before, at the head of, over’: 125, 253, 254, 638;

‘at hand, present’: 123, 230, 670;

‘withhold’, denoting disadvantage: 112; denoting help, assistance, ‘for’, 331, 509, 581;

denoting contest, ‘against, before’, 42, 92, 255;

‘yield to, give in to, be swayed by’, 179, 422;

joined to adv. denoting direction: **fyrir austr**, ‘eastwards’, 7;

with acc., mostly with the notion of movement:–

‘before, in front of’, 134(2x); **rekr fyrir lás**, ‘thrusts, throws the bolt’, i.e. ‘bolts/bars the door’, 114;

‘for, on behalf of’, 109, 126, 227, 291, 526, etc.;

ellipt., **hafði engi orð fyrir**, ‘had no words, was dumbfounded’, 490;

temp., ‘before’, 43, 274(1), 363, 592, 634, etc.;

‘for, because of’, 56, 295, 298, 299, 301; ‘because’, 573;

joined with adv. ending in **-an** with a following acc., denoting direction: **fyrir austan kirkju**, ‘to the east of the church’, 44; **fyrir ofan**, ‘above’, 536;

austan fyrir, **vestr fyrir**, with acc., ‘to the eastern/western side of’, 274(2), 275.

fyrir-sát, f., ‘an ambush’, 435.

fyrr, compar. adv., ‘sooner, before’, 333, 493, 612; **fyrr en**, ‘before that’, 145; **fyrst**, superl., ‘first, soonest’, 212, 312, 389; **en fyrst**, ‘at first’, 176.

fyrri, compar. adj., ‘former’; **fyrra sumar**, n., acc., ‘the former summer, before the last’, 225; **um sumarit fyrra**, ‘the summer before’, 229.

fyrsta, f., in the phrase **í fyrstu**, ‘at first’, 351.

fyrstr, adv., 'first, foremost'; reið fyrstr, 'rode in front', 407.

fýsa, 'to exhort, urge, wish'; fýstu, pret. pl., 173.

fæða, 'to give birth to'; fæddi, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 45.

föður-systir, f., 'father's sister'; föður-systur, gen. sing., 49, 309.

föl-leitr, adj., 'looking pale', 411.

för, f., 'a journey'; acc. sing., 478.

föstu-kveld, n., 'Friday evening'; föstukveldit, acc. sing., 379.

G

gagn-tak, n., 'the strap to which the girth is attached'; gagntökin, acc. pl. with art. suff., 486.

gamall, adj., 'old, aged, of a certain age', 491; elldri, compar., 649.

ganga, pres. geng, pl. göngum; pret. gekk, 2nd pers. gékkt, pl. gengu; pret. subj. gengi:- 'to walk, to go', 112, 145, 556, 558; gangir, subj. sing., 145; gengr, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 113, 121, 400; gengu, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 129, 131, 217, 355, 382, etc.; gengu til sættar, 'came to a settlement', 217; gekk, pret. sing., 131, 331, 350, 393, 399, etc., gekk aptr, 'returned', 508; gekk at honum, 'attacked him', 429; 433, 501, 533; gekk Þorsteinn þá at með reidda öxina, 'Þorsteinn then went at him with the bloody axe', 495; gekk frá, 'left', 476, 499, 511; at eigi gekk fyrir, 'so that [he] did not yield, budge', 422; ellipt. and adv., gekk til, 'went' (to the place), 508; gangið, imp. 2nd pers. pl., 134, 136, 389; göngum at þeim, '(we) attack them', pres., 1st pers. pl., 154; gengi, subj. pret., 579; ef þetta gengi fram, 'if that should come to pass', 446; gengu þá flestr frá, 'most of them now walked away', 498.

gani, nickname, possibly from **gan** or **gana**, n., ‘a person who shouts, clamours, vociferates, bawls, screams’ (GN 69), 158 .

garðr, m., ‘a yard, a hay-yard’; **garði**, dat. sing., 487.

gaupn, f. ‘both hands held together’ in the form of a bowl; **leit í gaupni sér**, acc. pl., ‘covered his face with his palms’, 453.

gefa, pres. **gef**; pret. **gaf**, 2nd pers. **gaft**, pl. **gáfu**; pret. subj. **gæfi**; part. **gefinn**:– ‘to give’, with acc. of the thing, dat. of the person; **gefr**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 271; **gaf**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 99, 256; **gaf sér ekki um**, ‘took no notice of it’, 447; **gáfu upp**, pret. pl., ‘gave up’, 270; **gefit**, part., 203, 204, 314; reflex., with preps, **skyldi ... upp gefask**, ‘had to give up, surrender’, 297.

geil, f., ‘a narrow glen, any narrow passage’; **geilum**, dat. pl., 401.

geldingr, m., ‘a wether’; **geldinga**, gen. pl., 319.

geld-neyti, n., ‘barren neat’ (cattle); **geldnauta**, gen. pl., 319.

gera. See **göra**.

gerð. See **görð**.

geyja, pret. **gó**:– ‘to bark’; **gó**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 119.

gipta, ‘to give a woman in marriage’; part., **gipt**, ‘given away’, 91, 264.

gisting, f., ‘a passing the night as a guest at a place, night-lodgings, accommodation for the night’, 143.

gjalda, pres. **geld**; pret. **galt**, 2nd pers. **galt**; pl. **guldu**; pret. subj. **gyldi**; sup. pret. **goldit**, **goldinn**:– ‘to pay money, a fee’, with the person in the dat., the money in the acc., 209; **galt**, pret. sing., 561; **goldinn**, sup. pret., 297.

gjarna, adv., ‘with desire, willingly, readily’, 328.

gjós-æðr, f., ‘a gush-vein, artery’; á gjósæðinni, ‘from the artery’, dat. sing. with art. suff., 36(2).

gjöf, f., ‘a gift’; gjafar, acc. pl., 257, 308.

gjörð, f., ‘a girdle’; gjörðunum, dat. pl., 423; gjörðina, acc. pl., 423.

glæpr, m., ‘crime, wickedness’; glæp, acc. sing., 445, 547.

gnúa, pres. gny; pret. gneri, gnöri; part. gnúit:– ‘to rub’; gnú, imper., 383; gnyr, pres. 2nd pers. sing., 384, 385.

goðorð, n., ‘rank and authority of a goði’; acc. sing., 48, 181, 203, 211; acc. pl., 305; goðorðanna, gen. pl. with art. suff., 206, 212; goðorðin, acc. pl. with art. suff., 209, 270; goðorðunum, dat. pl. with art. suff., 205.

goðorðsmaðr, m., ‘owner of a goðorð’, 11.

gó. See geyja.

góðgirnd, f., ‘goodness, kindness, sincerity’; dat. sing., 338, 370.

góðr, adj., ‘good, morally commendable, honest, righteous’, 8, 27; góð, f., sing., 32; góðan, m. acc. sing., 100; góðra, m. gen. pl., 340; góðs, m. n. gen. sing., 343; góðum, m. dat., 123; góðar gjafar, f. acc. sing., ‘good/fine/goodly/rich gifts’, 256; í góðri virðingu, f. dat. sing., ‘in good renown, in high esteem’, 262; gott, n., 471, 493.

grand, n., fig., ‘a hurt, injury, harm’, 156.

grannligr, adj., ‘slender of build’, 467.

gras, n., ‘grass, pasture’; acc. sing., 485.

gráta, pres. græt; pret. grét; grátið:– ‘to weep’; græt, pres. 1st pers. sing., 329; gráta, subj. pres. 1st pers. sing., 327.

grátr, m., ‘weeping’; grát, acc. sing., 324.

greftr(gröftr), m., ‘burial, a grave’; grefti, dat. sing., 551.

greiða, ‘to pay, to discharge’; greiddi, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 103.

grein, f., ‘division, dissent, discord’; greinir, acc. pl., 52.

grið, n., in pl., ‘a truce, peace, pardon’ (GN 134), 430, 433; grið, acc. sing., 471; báðu þeir þeim griða, ‘they sued for quarter, pardon’, gen. pl., 444, 451, 522.

gríss, m., ‘young pig, hog’, 19.

grænn, adj., ‘green’; grænum, m. dat. sing., 408.

grön, f., ‘the moustache’, as a nickname, 663.

guð, m., ‘God’, 441; acc. sing., 332, 453; guðs, gen. sing., fyrir guðs sakir, ‘for God’s sake’, 126.

gull-skeggr, m. ‘gold-beard’, a nickname, 396, 425, 557; gullskegg, acc. sing., 531; gullskeggs, gen. sing., 455.

gyrða, ‘to gird oneself’ with a belt or the like; gyrðr, part., ‘girt’ with a weapon, 409.

göra, pres. görr, görir; pl. göri; pret. görði, gjörði, gerði; pret. subj. görði; part. görr (görvir), gört, görzk:– ‘to make, to do’, 35, 146, 156(2), 170, 292, etc.; gör, imperat. 3rd pers. sing., 441, 492; göra af þeira fé svá mikit sem hann vildi, ‘could fix the amount (of compensation) as high as he wished’, 218; göra klæðaskipti, ‘to change clothes’, 113; þeir görðu, ‘they fixed the amount, share’, 553; görir, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 215; Ögmundr görir þar ekki at, ‘Ögmundr says

nothing about it', 71; *görði*, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 82, 194, 208, 241, 298, etc.; fig., *görði ... á hendr Oddi*, 'fixed the amount due to Oddi', 299, 534, 536, 537; *görði sér til handa*, 'adjudged/assigned to himself', 295, 298, 302; impers., 'one/it becomes', *veðr görði Mánadag*, lit. 'the weather lasted till Monday', 276; *görðu*, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 221, 553, 578; 'to do, help, avail', *eigi mundu göra atgörðir*, 'medical help will not avail', 35; *görðusk*, pret. sing., reflex., 'to become, grow, arise': *ok görðusk margar greinir*, 'and much discord grew/arose', 52; *görzk höfðu sveitanna á meðal*, part., 'had arisen between the districts', 291; *gört*, part., 60; *görið*, imper. 2nd pers. pl., 126; *görvir*, part., 298.

görð, f., 'arbitration'; *þessari görð var upp lokit*, 'this verdict/arbitration was delivered' (GN 108), 294; acc. sing., 306.

görla, adv., 'quite, altogether, clearly', 125, 602.

götu-skarð, n., 'a defile/gorge/ravine with a path through it'; *götuskarðit*, acc. sing., 420.

H

haf, n., 'the open sea, the ocean'; *sigldu í haf*, 'put to sea', 273.

hafa, pres. sing. *hefi*, *hefir*, *hefir*; pl. *höfum*, *hafit*, *hafa*; pret. *hafði*, pl. *höfðu*; subj. *hefði*; imperat. *haf*, *hafðu*; part. *hafðr*, *höfð*, neut. *haft*:- 'to have', 59, 60, 68, 79, 101, etc.; *hefir*, pres. 2nd pers. sing., 180, 181; pres. 3rd pers. sing., with preps, *hefir fram mál*, 'proceeds with the suit', 225; *hafði*, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 1, 8, 110, 159, 167, etc.; *hafði engi orð fyrir*, 'had no words, was dumbfounded', ellipt., 490; *hefði*, pret. subj., 186, 328, 329; 357, 603; *hefði eigi til borit*, 'would not have happened/befallen', part. n., 329; *höfðu*, pret. pl., 186, 204, 207, 273, 279, etc.; *höfðu þat orð á*, 'gave out, let it be known', 378; *hafir*, pres. subj., 181.

halda, pret. *hélt*, 2nd pers. *hélt*, pl. *héldum*; pres. *held*, pl. *höldum*; pret. subj. *héldi*; part. *haldinn*; imperat. *hald*, *haltú*:- 'to hold; to uphold, maintain, support', 78, 344, 360, 368; *halda réttindum fyrir honum*, denoting disadvantage, 'deprive him of his just due', 111, 581; *hélt*, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 530; *hélt hlut sinum*, 'upheld

his right, held out, held his own', 42; **hélt sér vel fram**, 'took on a dominant role, asserted himself', 52; **vóru þar haldnir til Ólafsmessu**, 'were kept there till St Olaf's Day', part., 288; **haldi**, pres. subj., 605; **haldit**, part., 499.

hamarr, m., 'a hammer'; **hamar**, acc. sing., 159; **hamarinn**, acc. sing with art. suff., 162.

hand-högg, n., 'the hacking off of one's hand'; **handhöggit**, acc. sing with art. suff., 554.

hand-höggva, 'to hack off one's hand', 523.

hand-leggr, m., 'the arm', 537.

handsala, 'to make over by hansel', i.e. to transfer a right, a bargain or a duty to another by shaking hands; **handsöluðu þeir honum**, 'they stipulated or agreed with him', pret. pl., 218, 290.

handsala-maðr, m., 'a bail, surety, guarantee'; **handsalamenn**, pl., 210, 211.

hann, pers. pron. masc., 'he'; fem. **hon**, 'she'; gen. **hans**, **hennar**; dat. **honum**, **henni**; acc. **hann**, **hana** ; (for pl., see **þeir**, **þær**, **þau**.):– **hann**, m. nom. sing., 'he', 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, etc.; **hann**, m. acc. sing., 'him', 40, 74, 112, 336, 343, etc.; **hans**, m. gen. sing., 'his', 9, 12, 32, 34, 39, etc.; **honum**, m. dat. sing., 'him', 34, 37, 63, 72, 76, etc.; **af honum**, 'from him', 63, 261; **hon**, f. nom. sing., 'she', 45, 113, 174, 314, 315, etc.; **hennar**, gen. sing., as adj., 204, 364(2x), 365(2x); **henni**, dat. sing., 314, 325; **hana**, acc. sing., 110, 139.

harðliga, adv., 'with steadfast/resolute spirit/heart, fearlessly', 454.

harð-mannligr, adj., 'hardy, manly'; **harðmannligsta**, superl., 539.

harð-orðr, adj., 'hard-spoken, caustic, biting, cutting, severe, hard, strict' in his speech, 445.

harðr, adj., of weather, ‘inclement, harsh, severe’; hart, n. nom. sing., 374; as adv., ‘hard, fast’, 510; harðara, as adv. ‘more rapidly, more loudly’, 461; harðr í horn at taka, fig. ‘hard to take by the horns, hard to deal with, obstinate’, 614.

haust, n., ‘autumn, harvest season’, 47, 242; um haustit, ‘in the autumn’, acc. sing. with art. suff., 100, 244, 345, 653.

háði. See heyja.

hálf, adj., ‘half’, 320.

hálf-skiptr, adj., of a cloak, ‘of two colours, one colour on each side’; hálfskiptum, acc. sing., 407.

háls, m., ‘the neck’; acc. sing., 383; hálsinn, nom. sing. with art. suff., 496; hálsinn, acc. sing. with art. suff., 163, 458, 510.

hár, adj., ‘tall’, 467(1); hátt, ‘high’, neut. as adv., 510.

hár, n., ‘hair’; acc. sing., 464, 467(2).

hátt, m., ‘a mode, a way of doing a thing’; lítills háttar, gen. sing., ‘insignificant’, 30.

heðan, adv., ‘hence, from this place’, 474.

hefja, pres. indic. hef; pret. hóf, pl. hófu; part. hafinn:– ‘to heave, lift, raise’; hefr, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 162; hafit, pret. sing., here used in the sense of ‘to have’, 248.

hefni-leið, f., ‘way to revenge, path of revenge’; vildi á hefnileið róa, lit. ‘wanted to row the way of revenge’, i.e. ‘wanted to seek revenge’, 589.

heilagr, adj., ‘holy’; heilagri, f. dat. sing., 157.

heill, adj., ‘hale, sound’; heilir, m. nom. pl., 622.

heilsa, vv. with dat., ‘to say hail to one, greet one’; heilsar, 3rd pers. sing., 140; heilsaði, pret. sing., 520.

heim, adv., ‘home, homewards’, 60, 88, 94, 95, 99, etc.; bauð Guðmundi heim, ‘invited Guðmundr home’, 48; sótti hann heim, ‘visited him’ (at home), 574.

heima, adv., ‘at home’, 375.

heima-maðr, m., ‘a member of one’s household’; allir heimamenn hans, nom. pl., ‘all the members of his household’, 129.

heiman, adv., ‘from home’, 375, 376.

heim-gás, f., ‘a home goose, a tame goose’; heimgása, gen. pl., 320.

heimill, adj., ‘to have at one’s free disposal’; heimil, f. nom. sing., 143; heimila, f. acc. sing., 68.

heita, pres. heit, heitr; pret. hét, hétu, 2nd pers. hézt; part. heitinn:– ‘to be called, named’; with dat. both of person and thing, or thing in inf., ‘to promise’; heitir, 3rd pers. sing. pres., 164, 513; hét, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 26, 28, 31(2), 32, 55, etc.

heldr, adv., compar., ‘more, rather’, 188, 190, 211, 329, 374, etc.

helgr, f., ‘the Sabbath’; eftir helgina, acc. sing. with art. suff., ‘after the Sabbath’, 514.

helmingr, m., ‘a half’; var skipt í helminga, acc. pl., ‘was divided into two equal portions’, 313.

herðar, f. pl., ‘the shoulders, the upper part of the back’; herðarnar, acc. pl. with art. suffixed, 496, 498; herðunum, dat. pl., 458.

herðar-blað, n., ‘the shoulder-blade’; herðarblaðit, acc. sing. with art. suff., 497.

herði-mikill, adj., ‘broad-shouldered’, 463.

hernaðr, m., ‘a harrying, plundering’; hernað, acc. sing., 41, 288.

hestr, m., ‘a stallion; a horse’ (GN 44); hest, acc. sing., 100, 321; á hest, ‘for horses’, 321; hesta, acc. pl., 404; hestinn, acc. sing. with art. suff., 485.

hey, n., ‘hay’; heyja, gen. pl., ‘stores of hay’, 374.

heyja, pres. hey, heyr, heyr; pret. háði; pret. pass. háðið, neut. háit, contr. hát:– a law term, ‘to discharge a public duty’; háði féránsdóma, ‘held/conducted a court of confiscation’, pret. sing., 311.

heyra, ‘to hear’; with prep., ‘to give ear, to listen to a thing’; heyri, pres. indic. 1st pers. sing., 150, 181; heyrir, pres. 3rd pers. sing., heyrir á stefnuna, ‘hearkens to/listens to the summons/citation’, 63; 120; with prep., sem tengðum þeira heyrði til, ‘as it behove their ties of affinity’, subj. pret. pl., 369.

hér, adv., ‘here’, 142, 144, 327, 354, 357, 416.

hérað, n., ‘district’; héraði, acc. sing., 253, 304; héraðinu, dat. sing. with art. suff., 267; héraðit, acc. sing. with art. suff., 195.

héraðs-menn, m. pl., ‘men of the district’, 657.

héraðs-stjórn, f., ‘county/district government’, dat., 52.

hingat, adv., ‘hither’, 633.

hinn, hin, hit; gen. hins, hinnar, hins; dat. hinum, hinni, hinu; acc. hinn, hina, hit; pl. hinir, hinar, hin; gen. hinna; dat. hinum; acc. hina, hina, hin; def. art.:– ‘the’, 47, 88, 281, 346; við hinn þrettanda mann, ‘with the thirteenth man’, i.e. himself being the fourteenth, 399; hina, f. acc., 43, 165; hinir, as dem. pron., m. nom. pl., 217, 267, 649; hit, n. acc. sing., 225, 539, 579; placed between a dem. pron. and an adj. in the def. form: þetta [h]it sama vár, ‘this same spring’, 367.

hirð-maðr, m., ‘a king’s man’, member of the king’s body-guard, the king’s men (GN 96), 262.

hjá, prep. with dat., ‘by, beside’, 41, 397.

hjálp-vænliga, adv., ‘salutary, promising help’, 454.

hjó. See **höggva**.

hjón, n., usually in pl., ‘man and wife’; **hjónum**, dat. pl., referring to Ögmundr and Steinunn, 313.

hlað, n., ‘the pavement or courtyard’ in front of a homestead; **hlaði**, dat. sing., 542; **hlaðit**, acc. sing. with art. suff., 133.

hlaup, n., ‘assault’, but with a sense of urgency; **af þessu hlaupi**, ‘from this assault’, dat. sing., 175.

hlaupa, pres. **hleyp**, pl. **hlaupum**; pret. **hljóp**, **hljópt**, **hljóp**, pl. **hljópum**; pret. subj. **hlypi**; part. **hlaupinn**:– ‘to leap, jump’, 138; **skyldu hlaupa fyrir dyrrin**, ‘should leap before the doorway’ and block it off, 133; **hljóp**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 161; **hljóp af baki**, ‘leapt off his horse’, 426; **hljópu**, pret. 3rd pers. pl., **hljópu þeir á einn klett allir nema Oddr**, ‘they all leapt onto a cliff except Oddr’, 216; 277(2x), 672; **hlypi**, pret. subj., 220.

hlaut. See **hljóta**.

hleypta, ‘to make one rush or burst forth’; pres. 3rd. pers. pl., 133. **hljóðr**, adj., ‘silent, taciturn, melancholy, sad’, 593, 594.

hljóp, **hljópu**. See **hlaupa**.

hljóta, pres. **hlýt**, pl. **hljótum**; pret. **hlaut**, **hlauzt**, **hlaut**, pl. **hlutum**; subj. **hlyti**; part. **hlotinn**, neut. **hlotið**:– ‘to get by lot, to have allotted to oneself’; **nú hlaut**

Sæmundr at gōra, ‘now it fell to Sæmundr to arbitrate’, pret. sing., 294; hljótask, refl., fig., ‘to proceed, result from’, esp. in a bad sense, 175.

hluta, ‘to draw lots for a thing, obtain by lot’, 292.

hlutr, m., ‘lot, share, condition, position; cause, case’; hluta, gen. pl., ‘share, allotment, portion’, 304; rangra hluta, ‘unjust, wrong cause’, 78; hlut, acc. sing., 42, 89, 92, 179, 613; öðrum hlutum, ‘other things’, 371.

hlýða, ‘to hearken, listen’; hlýddi, pret. sing., 447.

hníga, pres. hníg; pret. hné, pl. hnígu; part. hniginn:– ‘to bow down, sink, fall gently’; hné, pret. sing., 458.

hon. See hann.

horfa, subj. hyrfði: ‘to turn so as to behold, look on; face, turn in a certain direction’, 132; horfir, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 120.

horn, n., ‘a horn’; fig., harðr í horn at taka, ‘hard to take by the horns, hard to deal with’, 614.

hrak-auga, n., ‘evil eye’, as a nickname, 481, 505, 556.

hraut. See hrjóta.

hreimr, m., ‘disagreeable/unpleasant sound/noise, scream, cry’; as a nickname in Þorleifr hreimr, 622.

hrekja, pres. hrek; pret. hrakti; part. hrakiðr:– ‘to abuse, to annoy, to drive away’, 215.

hremma; part. hremmdr:– ‘to clutch’; hremmðir, ‘in a tight spot, in a difficult position, in dire straits’, 197.

hrinda, pres. **hrind**; pret. **hratt**, 2nd pers. **hratt**; pl. **hrundu**; subj. **hryndi**; part. **hrundinn**:– ‘to push, kick, throw, drive away’; **hrindr**, ‘casts off, throws off’, pres. sing., 486.

hringr, m., fig., **slógu hring um**, lit. ‘made a ring around’, i.e. ‘surrounded’, acc. sing., 138.

hríð, f., ‘a while’; **litla hríð**, ‘for a little while’, acc. sing., 400.

hrjóta, pres. **hryt**, pl. **hrjóta**; pret. **hraut**, 2nd pers. **hrauzt**, pl. **hrotu**; subj. **hryti**; part. **hrotinn**:– ‘to rebound, fall, fly, be flung’; **hraut ór af vætu**, ‘it drizzled into a shower’, pret. sing., 409.

hross, n., ‘a horse; a mare’ (GN 44); acc. pl., 320.

huga, ‘to make out, think out’; **hugði**, pret. sing., 601.

hug-leiða, ‘to pay attention to, consider, reflect’; **hugleiddir**, pret. 2nd pers. sing., 354.

hugr, m., ‘mind, thought’; **hug**, dat. sing., 123.

hugsa, ‘to think’; **hugsa um**, ‘to think about’ something, 594.

hug-þekkr, adj., ‘endeared to one, after one’s heart’, 480; **hugþekk**, f. nom. sing., 366.

hundr, m., ‘a dog’; **hundrinn**, nom. sing. with art. suff., 120.

hundrað, n., ‘a hundred’, but here the duodecimal hundred (12 x 10 or 120) of ‘wadmal’ (GN 45); acc. sing., 104, 299, 319, 567; **hundraða**, gen. pl., 104, 209, 295, 298, 299, etc.; **hundruð**, acc. pl. 296, 301(2x).

hurð, f., ‘a door’ (GN 62); **hurðina**, acc. sing. with art. suff., 114; **hurðir**, acc. pl., 672.

hús, n., ‘a house’; pl., ‘the group of buildings on a farm’; húsin, nom. pl. with art. suff., 137; acc. pl. with art. suff., 119; húsunum, dat. pl. with art. suff., 120, 134.

húsfrú, f., indecl. in sing., ‘housewife, lady, mistress’; ‘wife’, 39, 45, 102; húsfreyja, 124, 174, etc.; húsfreyju, dat. sing., 324, 369.

hús-karl, m., ‘man-servant’; húskörlum, dat. pl., 399.

húsla, ‘to housel, administer the Eucharist, give the Corpus Domini’; húslaðir, 468.

hvammr, m., ‘a grassy hollow’; hvammi, dat. sing., 401, 406.

hvar, adv., indef. ‘where’, 483; hvar komit var, ‘what had occurred’, 70.

hvat, pron., ‘what’, 98, 161, 162, 389, 435, etc.; implying an answer in the negative: ‘to what end? of what use?’, 147.

hvárki, adv., (neut. of hvárrgi): hvárki ... né, ‘neither ... nor’, 69, 79, 92.

hvárr, hvár, hvárt, interrogative pron., ‘which of two’, 292; hvárn, ‘each of two’, m. acc. sing., 553.

hvárr-tveggja, pron., ‘either, each of two, both’; hváirtveggju, n. dat. pl., 207, 291.

hvárt, interrogative adv., from hvárr, ‘whether’, 208; hvárt er ... eða, ‘whether ... or’, 188, 610; annat hvárt ... eða, ‘either ... or’, 602.

hverfa, pres. hverf; pret. hvarf, pl. hurfu; subj. hyrfi; part. horfinn:– ‘to turn around’; with preps, hvarf frá, ‘turned from, left off, cut short’, 225.

hverr, hver, hvert/hvat; gen. hvers, hverrar, hvers; dat. hverjum, hverri, hverju; acc. hvern, hverja, hvert:– hverr, indef., ‘each, every one’, as subst., 607; interrogative pron., ‘who, what, which of many?’ in a pl. sense; hvers, m. & n. gen. sing., 198; hverjum, 528; hvert, n. acc. sing., 200; hvern, m. acc. sing., 179; hverir, m. nom.

pl., 124; hverja, f. acc. sing., 151; hverju, n. dat. sing., 77; as adj., hverjum manni, 'for each man', 581; with gen., hverjum þeim, 'for each of those', 296, 300, 528.

hvers-dagliga, adv., 'every day', 395.

hversu, adv., 'how', 502.

hvessa, of weather, 'to blow keenly, blow up a gale'; hvesti, pret. sing., 275.

hví, dat. of an old and partly obsolete pron. hvat, 'what?', 356; adv., interrogative, with subj., 'why', 141, 594, 603.

hvítr, adj., 'white', as a nickname; hvíti, m. nom. sing., 633, 661; Skeggja hvíta, dat. sing., 273.

hyrna, f., 'one of the horns or points of an axe-head'; hyrnan, nom. sing. with art. suff., 497.

hærðr, adj. part., 'haired, hairy', 464.

hætta, absol., 'to leave off, desist'; hættu, imperat. with 2nd pers. pron. þú suff., 359.

höfðingi, m., 'chief, leader, head'; ágætr höfðingi, 'excellent chief', 8; höfðingja, acc. sing., 642; höfðingjum, dat. pl., 40.

höfuð, n., 'a head'; höfði, dat. sing., 392, 409; höfuð, acc. sing., 516; höfuðit, n. sing. with art. suff., 458, 510.

högg, n., 'a stroke, blow', esp. a stroke with an edged weapon, but also with a blunt one; höggit, nom. sing. with art. suff., 496; acc. sing. with art. suff., 232.

höggva, pres. höggr, pl. höggum; pret. hjó; pret. subj. hjöggi; part. högginn:— 'to hew' or 'cut off', 531; högg, imp. sing., 'to strike, smite' with a sharp weapon, 455, 534; hjó, pret. sing., 458, 495, 510, 536, 537.

hönd, f., ‘hand, the arm and hand, the arm’; acc. sing., 531, 534, 536; **hendi**, dat. sing., 103, 159, 354, 393(2x); acc. sing., 501; instr., **hendinni**, dat. sing. with art. suff., 232; **til handa**, gen. pl., ‘for one’s own benefit’, 295, 298, 302; **á hendr**, ‘into the hands’, 296, 299, 300; **hendrnar**, acc. pl. with art. suff., 457; acc. with prep., idiom.: **verk laust í hönd honum**, lit. ‘pain afflicted him in the hands’, i.e. ‘he was suddenly taken ill’, 33; **höndina**, acc. sing. with art. suff., 537, 540; **höndum**, dat. pl., 421.

I

inn, adv., ‘into, in’, denoting motion towards the place, 134, 538, 539.

innstæða, f., ‘investment, capital’; **innstæðu**, acc. sing., 104.

it. See **hinn**.

Í

í, prep. with dat., denoting remaining in a place:– ‘in, within, at’, 7, 16, 18, 21, 23, etc.;

temp., ‘during, in’; **í fyrstu**, ‘at first’, 351; **í þessu**, ‘in this moment’, 133; **í hvern stað**, ‘in each case’, 179;

prep. with acc., denoting motion towards a place, loc.:– ‘in, into, towards’, 2, 62, 64(2x), 66, 76, etc.;

temp. ‘in, during’; **í þann tíma**, ‘at that time’, 41; **í annat sinn**, ‘the second time’, 537; adverbially, before or after adv. or prep., **í brott**, ‘away’, 67, 113, 176, 318, 322, etc.; **í móti**, ‘against, on the opposite side’, 216, 284, 350, 355, 597.

ílla, adv., ‘badly, ill’, 69, 80, 152; **lét ílla yfir**, ‘expressed disapproval of’, 309, 547.

íllr, adj., ‘difficult’; **íllt**, n. nom. sing., 374; **íllt**, n. sing., as a subst., ‘ill, evil, bad’, 175.

íslenzkr, adj., 'Icelandic'; íslenzkra, m. nom. pl., 630, 632.

J

jaðra, 'to brim, border'; jaðraðr, part., 'bordered'; jaðrarnir, 408.

jafn, adj., 'even, equal'; neut., jafnt, adverbially, 'equally, just', 304.

jafnan, adv., 'ever, always, constantly', 260, 609; sem jafnan, 'as always', 88.

jafna, fig., 'make equal', 305.

jafn-drjúgr, adj., 'keeping as long'; skal oss jafndrjúgt verða, 'will last us equally long', n. acc. sing., 75.

jafn-fram, adv., 'equally forward, side-by-side', 624.

jafn-frjáls, adj., 'equally free'; jafnfrjálsar, f. nom. pl., 197.

jafn-liga, adv., 'perpetually, all along, always, usually', 347.

jafn-saman, adv., 'all together', 331, 667.

jarða, 'to earth, bury'; jarðaðr, part. m., 44; jörðuð, f. part., 364.

játa/játta, pres. játi, játir; pret. játti; part. játt:– 'to say yes, consent'; játtu, pret. pl., 642.

jól, n. pl., 'Yule, Christmas' (GN 46); acc., 106, 669; jólin, acc. pl. with art. suff., 107.

jörð, f., 'the earth, the surface of the earth'; jarðar, gen. sing., 457.

K

kakali, m., a nickname ‘stammerer, cackler, chatterer; little pot’ (McGrew 1975: 451), 248, 284; **kakala**, gen. sing. 570; acc. sing., 208.

kalla, ‘to call, name’; ‘to say, call’, 56, 133; **kallar**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 211; **kallar til goðorðanna**, ‘lays claim to the goðorð’; **kallaði sér**, pret. sing., ‘claimed for herself, belonged to her’, 314; **var frá kallaðr**, ‘was called away, died’, 51; **til kallaði**, ‘laid claim to, claimed, demanded’, 582; **var kallaðr eftir**, ‘was named after’, pass. part., m., 46; 51, 158, 160, 481.

kaldr, adj., ‘cold’; **kalt**, n. sing., 166.

karðínáli, m., ‘cardinal’ (GN 2), 2.

karl, m., ‘a man, fellow, servant, common folk’; as a nickname in **Jón karl**, 19, 131, 397, 429, 433, etc.; **karla**, gen. pl., 130; **karlar**, nom. pl., 351; **karli**, dat. sing., 541.

kasta, ‘to cast, throw’, with dat. of the thing; **kastar**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 163, 452; **kastað**, part., 408.

kápa, f., ‘a cowled cloak, a hooded cape’; **kápu**, acc. sing., 542; **kápuna**, acc. sing. with art. suff., 543.

kenna, ‘to know, recognize’; **kennir**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 121, 441; **kendu**, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 278.

kenni-maðr, m., ‘a teacher, priest’; **kennimanna**, gen. pl., 655; **kennimönnum**, dat. pl., 549, 639.

keyri, n., ‘a whip’, dat. sing., 231.

keyris-högg, n., ‘a whip’, the blow/stroke that is inflicted by a whip; acc. sing., 573.

kirkja, f., 'kirk, church'; kirkjan, nom. sing with art. suff., 545; kirkju, gen. sing., 129(2x), 331, 400; acc. sing., 44, 155, 157, 544, 546, etc.; dat. sing., 588; kirkjunnar, gen. sing. with art. suff., 137, 138; kirkjunni, dat. sing. with art. suff., 141; af kirkjunni, 'from the church', 145;

kirkju-fé, n., 'church property or livestock'; acc. sing., 50.

kirkju-syll, f., 'a sill, a door-sill on the church door'; kirkjusylluna, acc. sing. with art. suff., 159.

kista, f., 'a chest'; kistur, acc. sing., 321.

kjósa, pres. kýss, pl. kjósum; pret. kauss, kjöri, 2nd pers. kauss þu; pl. kuru, kusu; subj. kysi, kjöri; part. kosinn, kjörinn:– 'to choose, elect, select', with acc. or absol., 208; kjöru, pret. pl. 210; körinn, part., var körinn til lögmanns, 'was chosen as lawspeaker', 3; kosinn, part., 634.

kjölr, m., 'a keel'; komsk á kjöl, 'to get on the keel' when a boat is capsized, acc. sing., 279.

klaustr, n., 'a cloister, monastery'; acc. sing., 555.

klerkr, m., 'clergyman', esp. of the minor orders, 8.

klettr, m., 'a rock, cliff', in pl. 'a range of crags'; klett, acc. sing., 216; klettinum, dat. pl. with art. suff., 217.

klyf, f., 'pack, truss' on a pack-horse; klyfjunum, dat. pl., 486.

klyf-beri, m., 'a pack-saddle'; klyfberanum, dat. pl., 486.

klæða, 'to clothe'; klæddisk, refl., 'has dressed himself', 113; klæddr, m. part., 391; klæddusk, refl., pret. 3rd pers. pl., 128.

klæða-skipti, ‘change of clothes’, n. pl.; göra klæðaskipti, ‘change his clothes’, acc. pl., 113.

klæja, ‘to itch’; klæjar, impers. 3rd pers. sing., 383.

kné, n., ‘the knee’; fell á kné, acc. pl., ‘falls on [his] knees’, 453.

kné-liðr, m., ‘the knee-joint’; knéliðnum, dat. sing., 559.

knár, adj., ‘pithy, vigorous’, 412.

kollr, m., ‘head, pate’, as a nickname, 622.

koma, pres. sing. kem, kemr, kemr; pret. kom, 2nd pers. komt, pl. kómu; pret. subj. kvæmi, kæmi; part. kominn:– ‘to come, arrive’, 168, 171, 185, 215, 235; fram koma, ‘come out, emerge’, 210; koma út, ‘come out’ from Norway to Iceland, 626; koma við land, ‘to land’, 602; kemr, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 166, 324, 341, 342, 349, etc.; hvat kemr til þess? ‘what does this mean, signify?’, 418; kom, 3rd pers. pret., 2, 34, 39, 95, 229, etc.; Egill skyrhnakr kom ... at, ‘arrived’, 543; with preps, ellipt. and adv.; kom til, ‘arrived, came’, 585; komi, 1st pers. sing. pret., 329; kæmi, subj. pret., 579; kæmi til, subj. pret., ‘were to arrive’, 256, 581; kominn, part., 194, 518, 602; kominn, past part., vel á sik kominn, ‘in a good state, accomplished’, 394, 467; komit, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 81, 589; hvar komit var, ‘what had happened’, 70; kómu, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 211, 269, 405, 444, etc.; kómu á óvart, ‘arrived unexpectedly, took them by surprise’, 671; en engir kómu fram handsalamenn, ‘but the guarantee was not forthcoming, did not materialize’, 211; komsk, refl. 3rd pers. sing., 114, 278, 426, 544, 560; komizt, part., neut., 158, 167.

kona, f., ‘woman, wife’, 31, 117, 231, 325; konu, acc. sing., 94, 382.

konungr, m., ‘king’, 1, 7, 271, 610, 619, etc.; konungs, gen. sing., 269, 270; konung, acc. sing., 2; konungi, dat. sing., 608, 629.

konungs-bréf, n., ‘a king’s writ, warrant’; acc. sing., 641.

korn, n., ‘corn, grain’; acc. sing., 481.

kostr, m., ‘state, condition, chance’, 236; *var þá engi annarr kostr af Þórði*, ‘Þórðr did not insist on any other condition’, 239; *hvat muntu þá meira kost undir þér eiga*, ‘why would you have a better chance/why would your chances be improved’, acc. sing., 147; *kosti*, ‘choices’, acc. sing., 188.

kóróna, f., ‘crown’; *kórónu*, dat. sing., 3, 7.

kunnigr, adj., ‘known’; *kunnari*, ‘known, well-known’, 627.

kurteiss, adj., ‘courteous, gentle’ (GN 132); *kurteisast*, superl., 411.

kúa . See *kýr*.

kú-gildi, n., ‘a cow’s value’; acc. sing., 318.

kvángask, refl., ‘to marry, take a wife’, of a man (GN 40); *kvánguðusk*, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 242.

kveða, pres. sing. *kveðr*; pret. *kvað*, 2nd pers. *kvatt*, *kvattú*, pl. *kváðu*; pret. subj. *kvæði*; imperat. *kveð*:– ‘to say’; *kvað*, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 34, 60, 74, 92, 141, etc.; *kváðu*, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 175, 197; *kvaðsk*, pret. refl. 3rd pers. sing., 146, 174, 272, 315, 448, etc.; *sem á kveðit var*, part., ‘as was fixed/agreed upon’, 561; *kveðr*, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 59; *kveðsk*, refl. pres., 80, 145, 155.

kveðja, pres. *kveð*; pret. *kvaddi*; imperat. *kveð*; part. *kvaddr*:– ‘to call on, address, request, summon’; *kvaddi*, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 479, 505.

kveðja, f., ‘a welcome, greeting’; *kveðjur*, nom. pl., 352.

kveld, n., ‘evening’; *kveldit*, acc. sing. with art. suff., 382, 592.

kyrr, adj., ‘still, quiet, at rest’; kyrt, n. sing., 60, 191, 212; sitja um kyrt, ‘to sit/be at rest/peace’, 105, 334.

kyrtill, m., ‘a kirtle, tunic, gown’; kyrtli, dat. sing., 407, 462.

kýr, f., ‘a cow’; kúa, gen. pl., 318.

kæra, ‘to accuse, complain of; to plead’; kærð, part., 207.

kærleikr, m., often in pl., ‘intimacy, affection’; kærleikar, nom. pl., 644.

köstr, m., ‘a pile’; as a nickname: Sighvatr köstr, 281.

L

land, n., ‘land, country’; acc. sing., 177, 275, 602; landi, dat. sing., 615, 621; landit, acc. sing. with art. suff., 381.

land-seti, m., ‘a land-sitter, tenant’; landseta, dat. sing., 54.

Langa-fasti, f., ‘the long/Lenten fast’, dat. sing., 361.

lang-nefjaðr, adj., ‘long-nosed’, 248.

langr, adv., ‘long’, of space and time; lengr, compar., 72, 555; lengra, compar., 497; adj., langa, f. acc. sing., 273; compar., lengra; löngum, m. dat. sing., ‘long, mostly, continuously’, 266.

laugardags-morginn, m., ‘Saturday morning’; laugardags-morginninn, acc. sing. with art. suff., 388.

laugar-kveld, n., ‘Saturday evening’ (GN 123); laugarkveldit, acc. sing. with art. suff., 363.

launa, 'to reward, repay', with dat. of the person, acc. of the thing for which the reward is given, but dat. of the gift itself; launar, pres. 2nd pers. sing., 152.

lausn, f., 'absolution from ban or sin', 618.

lauss, adj., 'loose'; laust, n. nom., 428; láta laust, 'to let loose, let slip, yield up', 163, 316; lausa, f. acc. sing., 543; laus, n. acc. sing., 255.

laust. See ljósta.

lágr, adj., 'short', 463.

láss, m., 'a latch, lock'; lás, acc. sing., 114.

láta, pres. læt, pl. látum; pret. lét, 2nd pers. lézt; subj. léti, imperat. lát, láttú; part. látinn:— 'to let, put, place': laus láta, 'let slip, yield up, relinquish', 255; with dat., 'to suffer loss of something': láta fé sitt, 'give up, lose their possessions', 188; with infin., 'to let, make, cause', 673; þeir láta eigi friðliga, 'they did not behave peaceably', 142; látum, pres. pl., 155; lét, pret. sing., 54, 163, 308, 375, 568; lét laust, 'relinquished', 316, 543; létu, pret. pl., 132, 538; lézt, pret. 2nd pers. sing., 474; lézk lengr þar myndi vera, reflex., 'declared that he wished to remain there longer', 72; ok lézk þar, 'and died/perished there', 560; látim, imp. 2nd pers. pl., 135; látit, part.: var illa látit yfir því verki 'disapproval was expressed of that deed', 309; lét illa yfir, 'expressed disapproval of', 311, 547.

leggja, a causal of liggja; pres. legg, pl. leggjum; pret. lagði; subj. legði, imperat. legg or leggðu; part. lagiðr, lagið, lagit; part. laginn:— 'to lay, place, put, drop', 92; fig., at leggja hlut sin fyrir Sæmundi, 'to yield to, give in to Sæmundr', 179; Ábóti bað þá niðr leggja, 'the abbot begged him to drop the suit', 86; with prep., at leggja, 'to become involved with', 77; fig., leggr á, 'put value upon, tax, value', 151; leggr til, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 'stabs/thrusts with a weapon', 427; leggr þetta mál undir, pres. 2nd pers. sing., 'submits the suit to', 551; lagðisk þar lengi í rekkju, refl., 'fell sick, took to bed', 3rd pers. sing. pret., 38; lagðisk þá niðr 'laid (himself) down', 494; leggsk eigi niðr, reflex., 'does not lie down', 456; leggsk yfir, 'swims

across', refl. pret. 3rd pers. sing., 164; *lögðu hváirtveggju undir Þórð kakala*, 'both sides submitted/referred the suit to Þórðr kakali', pret. pl., 207.

leið, f., 'a way, road', 405; acc. sing., 165; *á leið*, 'on the way', 352, 593. .

leiða, 'to lead, conduct, lead by the hand'; *leiddi*, 3rd pers. sing. pret., 41.

leita, 'to seek, search'; *leitaði*, pret. sing., 502.

lengi, adv., 'long, for a long time', 261; with gen., *lengi sumars*, 'for a long part of the summer', 38.

lesa, pres. *les*; pret. *las*, *last*, *las*, pl. *lásu*; subj. *læsi*; imperat. *les*; part. *lesinn*:- 'to read'; *lesit*, part., 587; *vóru þar upp lesinn konungsbréf*, part., 'the king's letters were read aloud', 641.

letja, pres. *let*; pret. *latti*; subj. *letti*; part. *lattr*:- 'to hold back, dissuade', with acc. of the person, gen. of the thing; *latti*, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 174.

leyfi, n., 'leave, permission', acc. sing., 204.

leysa, 'to free, redeem; discharge, pay'; *leysa af hendi*, 'to discharge a duty', 103; 'to break up', impers., *skipit leysir undir þeim*, pres. pl., 'the ship breaks up under them', 276; *þá leysir fót undan Jóni í knéliðnum*, 'then Jón's leg breaks in the knee joint', 559.

lið, n., 'a host, folk, people'; esp. a military term, 'troops, a host', 107, 515; acc. sing., 646; *liði*, 'aid, assistance', dat. sing., 240.

líf, n., 'life'; *á lífi*, 'alive', 527.

lifa, pres. *lífi*; pret. *lifði*:- 'to live', 471, 493; *lifði*, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 366; pret. subj., 332.

líf-gjöf, f., 'the granting of life or pardon to one'; *lífgjafar*, acc. pl., 475.

liggja, pres. ligg, pl. liggja; pret. lá, 2nd pers. látt; subj. lægi; part. leginn:– ‘to lie’;
liggr, pres. sing., 405, 474; lá, 3rd pers. sing. pret., 38, 362, 508.

limr, m., ‘a limb’; limar, gen. sing., 189.

litlu-stofa, f., ‘small room; dressingroom, wardrobe’ (Ringler 1972: 19; GN 56);
litlustofu, acc. sing., 112.

líða, pres. líða; pret. leið; 2nd pers. leitt; pl. liðu; subj. liði; imperat. líð; part. liðinn:–
‘to go, move, pass’, sem á leið nóttina, ‘as the night wore on’, 276
lík, n., ‘a corpse’; acc. pl., 549.

líka, ‘to like, please’, with dat.; líkar, impers., pres. 3rd pers. sing., 80, 183; líkaði,
impers., pret. 3rd pers. sing., 146.

líkamr, m., ‘the body’; líkama, dat. sing., 512; líkamanum, dat. pl., 459.

líkligr, adj., ‘likely, probable’; líkligt, n. nom. sing., 603.

líta, pres. lít; pret. leit, 2nd pers. leitz, pl. litu:– ‘to look, behold, see’; leit í gaupnir
sér, pret. sing., ‘covered his face with his palms’, 453.

lítill, adj., ‘small in amount, degree’; lítil, n. acc. sing., 562; lítilli, f. dat. sing., 513;
lítla, f. acc. sing., 400; lítils, m. gen. sing., 30.

lítt, as adv., ‘wretchedly, poorly’, 257.

ljós-hærðr, part., ‘light-haired’, 411.

ljóss, adj., ‘light, bright, shining’, 467; ljóst, n. nom. sing., 171.

ljósta, pres. lýstr, pl. ljóstum; pret. laust, 2nd pers. laust, pl. lustu; subj. lysti; part.
lostinn:– ‘to afflict, strike, smite’, 231; lýstr, 163; laust, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 573;
with prep.: verk laust í hönd honum, lit. ‘pain afflicted him in his arm’ i.e. ‘he

was suddenly taken ill', 33. *lóga*, 'to part with' with the notion of 'waste', with dat.; *lógat*, part., 205.

lúka, pres. *lýk*; pret. *lauk*, *laukt*, *lauk*; pl. *luku*; subj. *lyki*; part. *lokinn*:- 'to shut, end'; *þessari górnð var upp lokit*, 'this judgment was delivered', past part., 294; *lýkr*, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 227.

lýsa, 'to dawn, get light'; *lýsti*, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 146; *lýst af degi*, lit. 'it brightens from the day', i.e. 'daylight appears, it dawns', 148.

læknir, m., 'physician'; *lækni*, acc. sing., 34.

lögliga, adv., 'lawfully', 206.

lög-maðr, m., 'lawspeaker' (GN 5); *lögmanns*, gen. sing., 4.

M

maðr, m., 'man (irrespective of sex), human being':- 'man' opp. to *kona*, 31, 167, 247, 380, 463; *mann*, acc. sing., 76, 156, 183, 185, etc.; *manna*, gen. pl., 82, 107, 171, 215, 241, etc.; *manni*, dat. sing., 582; *menn*, nom. pl., 35, 98, 122, 167, 199, etc.; acc. pl., 57, 136, 177, 214, 215, etc.; *mennina*, acc. pl. with art. suff., 517; *mönnum*, dat. pl., 32, 79, 137, 257, 285, etc.; *af mönnum hans*, 'from his men', 285.

maklig-leikr, adj., 'what serves one right'; *at makligleikum*, dat. pl., 'deservedly, fairly, properly', 241.

manna-forræði, n., 'rule, dominion', acc. sing., 302.

manna-mál, n., 'human voices, human speech', acc. sing., 120.

mannheill, f., 'bliss, favour, good report'; acc. sing., 8.

mann-margr, adj., ‘having many men; n. sing. subst., **mannmargt**, ‘to have many people, forces’, 335.

marg-menni, n., ‘many men, a crowd of men’; dat., 373.

margr, adj., in pl., ‘many’; **marga**, m. acc. pl., 417; **margar**, f. acc. pl., 52, 624; **margir**, m. nom. pl., 39, 365, 670; **margt**, n. nom. sing., 370; **margt**, m. nom., 630, 631, 658, 659; **mörg**, n. pl.; acc. pl., 25, 128, 348; **mörgum**, m. f. n. dat. pl., 366.

matr, m., ‘meat, food’; **mat**, acc. sing., 74, 144; **matar**, gen. sing., 390.

má. See **mega**.

mágr, m., ‘a relative by marriage, brothers-in-law’ etc., 359; **mágum**, dat. pl., ‘kinsmen’, i.e. her husband, Ögmundr, and nephews Sæmundr and Guðmundr, 332.

mál, n., ‘suit, cause, case, affair, action’; acc. sing., 225, 236, 291, 552; nom. pl., 207; acc. pl., 201; **hefir fram mál**, ‘proceeds with the suit’, 225; **mála** gen. pl., 618; **málin**, acc. pl. with art. suff., 258; ‘speech, speaking, conversation, discussion’: **var þat mál manna**, ‘people said that’, nom. sing., 241; **kennir þá skjótt mál þeira bræðra**, ‘immediately recognizes the speech of the brothers’, acc. sing., 121.

mána-dagr, m., ‘Monday’; **mánadag**, acc. sing., 276.

Máriu-messa, f., ‘Mary’s Mass’; **Máriu-messu**, dat. sing., 592; **Máriu-messu hina síðari**, dat., ‘the second Mary’s Mass’, i.e. 8 September, 43.

með, prep. with dat. (with the notion of ‘coming’ or ‘going in company’), and acc. (‘bringing’ or ‘fetching’):–

with dat.:– ‘with, along with, together with, among, between, amidst’, 32, 45, 53, 66, 71, etc.;

instr., **með spjóti**, ‘with a spear’, 427; **með keyri**, ‘with a whip’, 231; 495, 533;

adv. usage: **með því at**, ‘as, because, in consequence of’, 261;

with acc.:- 78, 94, 105, 177, 314, etc.; **ok þat með**, ‘and moreover’, 219; **með öllu**, ‘altogether, quite’, 506.

meðal, adv. with gen., **á meðal**, ‘among, between’, 291.

meðal-maðr, m., ‘an average man’, in height, strength or the like, 410, 466.

meðan, adv., ‘as long as, all along, whilst, while’, 332, 366, 527.

mega, pres. in a pret. form **má**, **mátt**, **má**; pl. **megum**, **megut**, **megu**; pret. **mátti**, subj. pres. **megi**, pret. **mætti**; part. **mátt**; followed by an inf.:– ‘to be able’; **má**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 431, 528, 624; **má vera**, ‘it may be’, 122; **er sem má** ‘it is as it may be’, 419; **eigi megum vér þat**, ellipt., the verb **göra** implied, ‘we are not able to do that’, 472.

meiri, adj., compar. from **mikill**, ‘more, greater’; **meira**, n., 80, 504, m. acc. sing., 111, 147, 180; **mestr**, superl., ‘most, greatest’, 394; **mest**, compar., ‘more’, 41, 364.

meirr, adj., compar. from **mjök**, ‘more’, 328.

metta, ‘to fill with food’; chiefly in the part., ‘having eaten one’s fill, having finished a meal’: **mettir**, part., 390.

mér. See **ek**.

mið-mjór, adj., ‘slender in the waist’, 463.

miðviku-aptann, m., ‘Wednesday evening’, 592.

mikill, adj., ‘great, prominent’, m. sing., 29, 82, 247, 613, 650; **mikil**, f. sing., 222, 267, 565, 585; n. acc. pl., 363; **mikinn**, m. acc. sing., 37, 262; **mikit**, n. sing., 219, 500(1); as subst., ‘much’, 83, 500(2); **mikla**, f. acc. sing., 8; **miklum**, dat. sing., 370; **miklu**, n. dat. sing., as adv., 497.

Mikjálsmessa, f., ‘Michaelmas day’, i.e. 29 September (GN 99); **Mikjálsmessu**, dat. sing., 274.

milli, prep. with gen., ‘between’, 570.

minn, possessive adj., ‘my’, 149, 153; **mína**, acc. pl., 127.

mis-kunn, f., ‘forgiveness, pardon, mercy, grace, compassion’; **miskunnar**, acc. pl., 454.

misseri, n., usually in the plur., ‘the seasons, a circuit of seasons’, i.e. ‘a twelvemonth, a year’; ‘a period of six months, half a year’:- **misserum**, dat. pl., **á þeim misserum**, ‘in that year’, 4, 45.

mjök, adv., ‘much, very’, 84, 171, 172, 283, 315, etc.

morginn, m., ‘morning’; **morgininn**, acc. sing. with art. suff., 108, 386, 403, 593.

móðir, f., ‘mother’, 9(2x), 108, 203, 654.

móður-bróðir, m., ‘a mother’s brother, uncle’; **móður-bróður**, acc. sing., 373.

mót, n., ‘a meeting’; with gen.: **til móts við**, ‘towards, against’, 165, 171, 185, 235, 239, etc.; dat. with prep.: **í móti**, ‘against, on the opposite side’, 216, 220, 284, 350, 355, etc.; **í móti skapi**, ‘opposed to’, 316.

mót-gangr, m., ‘a going against, opposition’; **mótgangi**, dat. sing., 187.

munn-ljótr, adj., ‘with an ugly, hideous mouth’, 411.

munu, a verb with the pres. in the pret. form; pl. **munum**, **munut**, **munu**; pret. **mundi**; subj. pres. **muni**; pret. **myndi**; imperat. **mun**, **muntu**; pres. infin. **munu**, pret. infin. **mundu**; pres. **man**, **mant**, **man**:- as aux., ‘shall, will’, 125; **mun**, pres. 1st pers. sing., 111, 431; **mun**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 82, 337, 360, 475, 624; **munum**, pres. 1st pers. pl., 144, 546; **mundi**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 145, 146, 175, 356, 546,

etc.; **mundir**, pret. 2nd pers. sing., 357; ‘would, must’, with a suggestive sense of ‘may be, probably, about’: **hverir munu þeir vera**, ‘who they may be’, 124; **mundu**, pret. inf., 156, 378, 445, 579; **muntu**, imper., pres. 2nd pers. sing. with pron., 147, 327, 440, 526, 598; **myndi**, subj. pret. sing., ‘would’, 35, 72, 74, 81, 167, 200; **myndir**, subj. pret. 2nd pers. sing., 149.

myrkr, adj. ‘murky, dense’; **myrk**, m. nom. sing., 409.

mægð, f., often used in pl., ‘affinity by marriage’; **mægða**, gen. pl., 577; **mægðir**, nom. pl., 93.

mægjask, ‘to marry into a family’; **mægðr**, part., 182.

mæla, ‘to speak’, 150; **mæli**, pres. 1st pers. sing.; **þá mæli ek þat eigi eftir honum**, ‘I do not take his part, excuse him’, 182; **mælti**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 124, 136, 147, 154, 155, etc.

mæta, ‘to meet’; **mættisk**, recipr. ‘meet/join one another’, 496.

N

ná, fig., ‘to get, obtain’, 63; ‘to reach’, with dat., 589; **náðu**, pret. pl., 571.

nátt, f., ‘the night’; **náttum**, dat. pl., 555. See also **nótt**.

nef, n., ‘the nose’; **nefit**, nom. sing. with art. suff., **bjúgt nefit**, ‘the nose [was] hooked’, 395; acc. sing. with art. suff., 248.

neinn, adj. pron., contr. from **né einn**, ‘not one’; ‘any’, following after a negation, 183.

neita, ‘to deny, refuse, decline’; **neitti**, pret. sing., 506.

nema, conj., ‘except’, 216, 256, 279, 351, 555.

nema, pres. nem; pret. nam, namt, nam, pl. námu; subj. næmi; part. numinn:– ‘to come to a halt’, pres. pl., 401.

né, adv., ‘not’, 56, 79; disj. cop.: hvárki ... né, ‘neither ... nor’, 69, 93.

nauðigr, adj., ‘forced, unwilling’; nauðga, acc. pl., 287.

nauðsyn, f., ‘need, necessity’, 126.

niðr, adv., ‘down’, 86, 456, 476, 494, 497.

nú, card. num., ‘nine’; nú tigir, m. pl., ‘nine tens, ninety’; nú tigu, acc. pl., 553.

norðan, adv., ‘on the north side of’; norðan á húsinum, ‘north of the farm buildings’, 134; 214, 300, 565.

Norðlendinga-fjórðungr, m., ‘the north quarter’; acc. sing., 636; Norðlendinga-fjórðungi, acc. sing., 224.

norðr, adv., ‘northwards’, 90, 120, 177, 215, 228, etc; norðr af húsinum, ‘to the north of the house’, 120; norðr frá Lónsheiði um fjörðu, ‘northwards from Lónsheiðr around the bay’, 303; norðr um land, ‘northwards across the country’, 177.

nón, n., ‘nones’, about three o’clock, received as a mark of time from ecclesiastical law; nóni, acc. sing., 514.

nótt, f., ‘night’ ; nótt, dat. sing., 229; um nóttina, ‘through the night’, acc. sing. with art. suff., 115, 118; sem á leið nóttina, ‘as the night wore on’, 276; nóttum, dat. pl., 43, 634.

nunna, f., ‘nun’; Arnbjörg nunna, ‘Arnbjörg the nun’, 20.

nú, adv., ‘now, next’, 58, 60, 100, 134, 148, etc.

nýr, adj., 'new'; at nýju, 'anew, again', of the present time, m. dat., 212.

nær, adv., 'near', 494, 588; næst, superl., 'nearest, next', 413.

næsta, superl. adj., from nærri, 'next, next after', 284, 376.

nökkurr, indef. pron., 'any, anybody; some, some one'; nökkura, m. acc. pl., 136, 287, 479, 542, 609; nökkurir, m. nom. pl., 322, 617; nökkurar, f. acc. pl., 475; nökkut, n. sing. nom., 354; nökkut, as subst., 'anything', 196, 255; nökkur, 597; n. as adv., 'somewhat', 247, 391, 411, 461.

O

ofan, adv., 'down, downwards from above', with preps denoting motion from above, 64, 138, 486, 501; fyrir ofan, 'above', 536.

of-kapp, m., 'stubbornness, arrogance, presumption'; ofkappi, acc. sing., 78.

of-sækja, 'to persecute, pester, haunt'; ofsæki, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 183.

ofsa-maðr, m., 'an overbearing, rash, arrogant, violent man', 81.

ok, cop. conj., 'and', 2, 7, 8, 13, 14(2x), etc.; as a historical part. at the head of sentences, 35, 94, 108; ok er, 'and when', 73, 113, 114, 165, 171, etc.; ok þó, 'and besides, even, to boot', 29, 411, 454; ok svá, 'and also, as also', 63, 134, 222, 437.

okkar. See ek.

olea, 'to anoint, administer extreme unction to'; oleuð, f., part., 362.

opt, adv., 'often', 347, 393.

orð, n., 'a word'; acc. sing., 196, 490; höfðu þat orð á, 'gave out, let it be known', 378; acc. pl., 348; tók til orða, gen. pl., 'took to talking, started talking, spoke', 491; orðum, dat. pl., 150, 372; orðunum, dat. pl. with art. suff., 461.

oss. See ek.

Ó

ó-eirinn, adj., 'violent, inconsiderate, thoughtless, rough, ruthless, unruly', 82.

ó-friðr, m., 'strife, war, state of war, enmity'; ófriði, dat. sing., 230.

ó-glögg, adv., 'not clearly/distinctly', 98, 199.

ó-happ, n., 'ill-luck'; acc sing., 547.

Ólafs-messa, f., 'St Olaf's day', i.e. 29 July, (GN 106); Ólafsmessu, gen. sing., 288.

ó-magi, m., 'a helpless one, one who cannot maintain himself, dependant', (GN 33); ómaga, acc. sing., 54; ómagann, acc. sing. with art. suff., 56, 57, 59.

ór, prep. with dat., 'out of, from', 12, 95, 113, 172, 210, etc.; skáru ór, 'cut right through', 423.

ó-ráðliga, adv., 'in an improper, inadvisable, inexpedient manner', 237.

ó-reiða, f. 'unreadiness'; as a nickname, 'the unready; unruly, peppery, quarrelsome' (GN 7), 4.

ór-lof, n., 'permission, leave' (GN 97); acc. sing., 271, 628.

ó-skerðr, part., from skerða, 'to diminish', as adj., 'unscored, whole, entire'; óskerðum, dat. pl., 42.

ó-tillátsamr, adj., ‘unyielding’, m. sing., 83.

ó-varr, adj., ‘unexpectedly’; kómu á óvart, ‘came unexpectedly, took them by surprise’, n., 671.

ó-vild, f., ‘lack of goodwill, enmity’, 41.

ó-vígðr (ú-), part., ‘unconsecrated, not ordained’, especially as a priest, i.e. ‘secular’; óvígð, 545; óvígðum, dat. pl., 40.

ó-vörum, adj., from ó-varr, ‘unaware, unwary’; at óvörum, ‘unexpectedly’, 606.

P

panzari, m., ‘a coat of mail’; panzara, acc. sing., 392.

páfadómr, m., ‘the popedom, papacy’; páfadóms, gen. sing., 3.

páfi, m., ‘a pope’, 617; páfa, gen. sing., 617.

Páls-messa, f., ‘St Paul’s day (25 January; GN 51); Pálsmessu, acc., 116.

Páskar, m. pl., ‘Easter, Passover-time’; fyrir Páska, acc., ‘before Easter’, 363; annan dag Páska, gen., ‘the second day of Easter’, 364.

Páska-vika, f., ‘Easter-week’, i.e. the week after Easter Sunday; Páskaviku, dat. sing., 367, 376.

penni, m., ‘a pen’, 118.

penningr, m., in pl., ‘money’; penningarnir, nom. pl. with art. suff., 529.

prestr, m., ‘priest’ 6, 351, 518; used as a nickname in **Jónprestr**, 22, 445, 564; **prest**, acc. sing., 25, 451, 452; **presti**, dat. sing., 442; **prestar**, nom. pl., 443, 444, 509; **prestarnir**, nom. pl. with art. suff., 459.

prests-fundr, m., ‘the visit of a priest’; **prestsfund**, acc. sing., 439, 440.

psalmr, m., ‘a psalm’; **psalma**, acc. sing., 460.

R

rakki, m., ‘a dog’, 118, 544; **rakka**, acc. sing., 544.

rangr, adj., ‘wrong’; fig., ‘wrong, unjust, unrighteous’; **rangra**, m. gen. pl., 78; **rangt**, n., as adv., 60.

rauð-gulr, adj., ‘yellow-red, reddish blond’, 464.

rauð-hárr, adj., ‘red-haired’, 394.

rauðr, adj., ‘red’, 472; **rauðum**, m. dat. sing., 407.

ráð, n., ‘counsel, advice’; acc. sing., 578; **ráði**, dat. sing., 340, 564.

ráða, pres. **ræð**, **ræðr**, **ræð**, pl. **ráðum**, **ráðit**, **ráða**; pret. **réð**, 2nd pers. **rétt**, pl. **réðu**; subj. **réði**; imperat. **ráð**, **ræddu**; part. **ráðinn**:– ‘to settle, have authority over, be master of’; **ekki ráða skyldu**, ‘had no authority over’, i.e. it was none of their business, 317; **réð**, 3rd pers. sing. pret., 7, 223; **réð þat þá af**, ‘resolved, made up his mind about that’, 614; **réðu**, pret. pl., with dat., 668; **hafði ráðit**, part., ‘had ruled, governed’, 1.

refr, m., ‘a fox’, 544.

reiða, ‘to brandish’; **reidda**, dat. sing. as adj., 495, 533; **reiddi**, pret. sing., 510.

reiðingr, m., ‘harness’; reiðinginum, dat. pl., 484.

reiðr, adj., ‘wrathful, angry, offended’, 58.

reisa, a causal to rísa, ‘to raise, start, begin’, pres. 3rd pers. pl., 213.

reka, pres. rek, rekr; pret. rak, rakt, rak, pl. ráku; subj. ræki; imperat. rek, rektú; part. rekinn:– ‘to drive, drive away’; pres. 3rd pers. pl., 327, 333; rak, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 67, 318; ráku, pret. pl., 322; rekr fyrir lás, ‘thrusts/throws the bolt, bolts/bars the door’; pres. 3rd pers. sing., 113.

rekkja, f., ‘bed’; rekkju, acc. sing., 38.

rétta, ‘to stretch out’; rétti at honum spjót, ‘stretched out the spear towards him’, pret. sing., 429.

réttindi, n. pl., ‘right, justice’; réttindum, dat. pl., 112.

réttr, m., ‘right, due, claim’; réttu, acc. pl., 63.

ríða, pres. ríð; pret. reið, reitt, reið, pl. riðu; subj. riði; imperat. ríð, ríttu; part. riðinn:– ‘to ride’, 169(2x), 176, 194, 378, 414, 517; reið, pret. sing.; reið Ormr (heim) af þinginu, ‘Ormr rode (home) from the thing’, 37, 88; 55, 84, 90, etc.; riði, pret. subj., 210; ríðr, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 59, 64, 66, 70, etc.; ríðr þar at, ‘arrives’, 73; riðu, pret. pl., 115, 191, 216, 339, 379, etc.; riðit, part., 229.

ríki, n., ‘power, might, domain’; acc. sing., 251, 252, 255, 272; ríkin, acc. pl., 581; ríkja, gen. pl., 254.

rísa, ‘to arise, rise, stand up’, 403.

ríta, ‘to write’, 624; ritað, part., 333, 612.

róa, 'to row, pull'; vildi á hefnileið róa, lit. 'wanted to row the way of revenge', i.e. 'wanted to seek revenge', 589.

ryðugr, adj., 'rusty'; ryðug, f., 392.

röskr, adj., 'vigorous, doughty, brave'; röskva manna, gen. pl., 'valiant men', 658; röskvir, m. nom. pl., 670.

S

saga, f., 'a story, tale, legend', 539; sögu, dat. sing., 627; sögur, nom. pl., 624, 625.

saka, 'to blame, find fault with'; hví mundi þat saka?, 'what fault shall be found with that?', i.e. 'what is wrong with that?', 356.

saman, adv., 'together', 107, 408, 578, 617, 624, 625.

sam-band, n., 'a connection, union'; sambands, gen. sing., 577.

samningr, m., 'a settlement, an agreement, treaty'; at leggja til samnings með þeim, 'to set up an agreement/to arbitrate between them', 77.

samr, adj. 'the same'; sama, n. nom., 285, 367; samt, n. nom. sing., 616; sömu, f. acc. sing., 165, 488.

sam-sumars, adv., 'in the same summer', 221.

sam-þykki, n., 'consent, oneness, concord', 655.

sauðr, m., 'a sheep'; sauða, gen. pl., 320.

sauma, 'to sew'; saumaðir, 'sewn', part., 408.

sá, sú, (neut. þat); gen. þess, þeirrar, þess; dat. þeim, þeirri, því; acc. þann, þá, þatt; pl. þessir, þessar, þessi; gen. þessara; dat. þessum; acc. þessa, þessar, þessi; dem. pron. as adj., with a subst.:— ‘that’; sá maðr, ‘that man’, 380; sú hyrnan, ‘that point of the axe-head’, f. nom. sing., 497; þess, n. gen. sing., 173; þann broður, acc. sing., ‘that brother’, 26; í þann tíma, ‘at that time’, 41; 152, 164, 601; þá sæmð, ‘that honour’, f. acc. sing., 109; þeim, ‘those’, m. dat. sing.; af þeim, ‘of those’, 206; 77, 81, 217, 250, etc.; þeirri ferð, ‘that journey’, f. dat. sing., 670; þess, ‘that’, 173; þessar stundir, ‘at that time’, f. nom. pl., 608, 625; as subst., used almost as a pers. pron., ‘he, she’: sá var með þeim bræðrum, ‘he was with the brothers’, 154; skamt liggr sá nú heðan, ‘he lies only a short distance from here’, 474. (See also þeir, þær, þau).

sál, f., ‘the soul’; dat. sing., 509.

sálask, ‘to depart’; sálaðan, ‘departed’, 509.

sár, n., ‘a wound’, 497; sárit, acc. sing with art. suff., 502.

segja, pres. segi, segir, segi, pl. segjum, segit, segja; pret. sagði, pl. sögðu; pres. subj. segja, pret. segða, segðir, segði; imperat. seg, segðu; part. sagðr:— ‘to say, tell’; inf., 76, 192, 403, 541, 597; segir, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 67, 70, 75, 122, 135, etc.; ok segir honum annat óráðliga, ‘and told him anything else [was] inadvisable’, 237; segja, pres. 3rd pers. pl., 35; sagði, pret. sing., 442, 588; sögðu, pret. pl., 447; sögðu ut, ‘announced, made known’ [?], 633; sagt part., 599, 625.

seinliga, adv., ‘slowly’; seinligar, compar., 583; tók því seinliga, ‘reacted/received the request indifferently’, 102, 140.

seinn, adj., ‘slow, slack’; seint, n. as adv., 445.

sekr, adj., ‘sentenced, convicted, outlawed, found guilty’, 227, 288; sekjan, acc. sing., ‘convicted, outlawed, condemned’ (GN 84) 573.

sekt, f., ‘penalty, fine; outlawry’; acc. sing., 298, 299, 301, 302, 310; sekta, gen. sing., 86.

sem, as a conj., ‘as’, 88, 146, 150, 183, 197, etc.; **sem á leið nottina**, ‘as the night wore on’, 276; **svá ... sem**, ‘as ... as, such ... that’, 219; **þar sem**, ‘where, since, there where’, 187, 215, 435; as a rel. part., ‘who, which, that’, 42, 104, 206, 333, 351, 492, etc.; with superl., **sem best**, ‘as best (they could)’, 344; **sem tíðast**, ‘at once, with all speed’, 385.

senda, ‘to send, dispatch’; **sendi**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 76, 234, 367, 550, 644, 662; **sendir**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 184, **sendir eftir**, ‘sends for’, 448; **sendu**, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 196; **sent**, part., 587.

senn, adv., ‘simultaneously, at the same time’, 138, 624; with a numeral or numeral adj.: **bæði í senn**, ‘both at the same time’, 243.

setja, **set**, **setti**, **sett**; a causal to **sitja**– ‘to set, place, put, to appoint’; **settan**, part., 380; **settisk**, reflex., pres. 3rd pers. sing., ‘to seat oneself, take a seat’, 476; **settisk aptr**, ‘desists from’, esp. of a journey, i.e. ‘turns back’, 559.

sex, card. num., ‘six’, 321(2x), 567, 634; **sex tigr**, m. pl., ‘six tens, sixty’; **sex tigi**, acc., 295, 646.

sé. See **vera**.

sér, reflex. pron., dat., ‘to himself, (herself, itself, themselves)’, used when referring to the subj. in a sentence, whether sing. or pl., 41, 52, 71, 83, 88, etc.; **hafði yfir sér kápu**, ‘was wearing a cape’, 542.

sétti, ord. num., ‘sixth’; **við sétta mann**, acc. sing., ‘with the sixth man’, i.e. with a party of six men, 541.

sigla, ‘to sail’; **sigldu**, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 273, 274.

sik, reflex. pron., 3rd pers. sing. and pl. acc., ‘self’, 156, 185, 186, 187, 394, etc.

sinn, sín, sitt pron., possess.: ‘his, hers, its, theirs’; 74, 313; usually placed after the noun but, if emphatic, before: **föður sinn**, ‘his father’, 48; **hlut sinn**, ‘his share, dealings’, 92; 175, 613; acc. sing., 179, 336, 373, 386, 446, 595; **sín**, m. acc. sing., 178; **sína**, f. acc. sing., 94, 233, 240, 338; m. acc. pl., 78, 175, 291, 375, 404, 614; **sínar**, f. nom. pl., 197; **sínnar**, f. gen. sing., 49; **sinni**, f. dat. sing., 306, 341, 501; **sinna**, gen. pl., 254, 618, 645, 663; **síns**, m. gen. sing., 197, 378, 656; **sínum**, m. dat. sing., 42, 46, 87, 95, 111, 399, 562; **sínu**, n. dat. sing., 515; **sitt**, n. acc. sing., 101, 188, 272.

sinn /sinni, n., as an adv. of time, in adv. phrases, ‘a time’; dat. sing., **at sinni**, ‘for the present’, 144, 233; **um sinn**, ‘for the present’, 625; **í annat sinn**, ‘a second time, for the second time, again, once more’, n. acc. sing., adv. phrase, 505, 537.

sitja, pres. **sit**; pret. **sat, sazt, sat**, pl. **sátu**; subj. **sæti**; imperat. **sit, sittú**; part. **setinn**:– ‘to sit; to stay, to abide, sojourn; to remain quiet, stay at home’, 105, 375; **sitr**, pres. sing., 416; **sat**, pret. sing., 610, 651, 657; **sátu**, pret. pl., 334, 406.

síð, adv., ‘late’; compar., in a temp. sense, **síðar**, ‘later’, 245, 308, 330.

síðan, adv., ‘since then, after that, afterwards, later on’, 13, 18, 26, 36, 57, etc.

síðari, adv., compar., ‘the later, the last of two’, i.e. ‘the second’; **Máriu-messu hina síðari** ‘the second Mary’s Mass’ (i.e. 8 September; GN 28), 43.

sík, n., ‘a ditch, trench, gully’; **síki**, dat. sing., 405; **síkit**, acc. sing. with art. suff., 414, 428; **af síkinu**, ‘out of the ditch’, dat. sing. with art. suff., 426.

síval-vaxinn, part., ‘round of growth, grown portly’, 463.

sjau, card. number, ‘seven’, 177, 459, 646; **sjau tigir**, ‘seventy’, 319; **sjau tigu**, acc. pl., 669; **sjau vetra**, ‘seven years old’, 51.

sjá, pres. **sé, sér, sér**, pl. **sém, sé**; pret. **sá, sát, sátu**, pl. **sám, sað, sá**; pres. subj. **sé, sér**, pret. **sæi**; imperat. **sé, séðú**; part. **sénn**:– ‘to see’, 528, 649; **sá**, pret. sing., 517, 544; **sér**, pres. 2nd pers. sing., 416; pres. 3rd pers. sing., 58, 120, 427;

sér út, 'looked out', 119; at sjá eftir, 'to regret', 325; sem ábóti vill fyrir sjá, 'as the abbot counsels, wishes to manage/arrange it', 338; at sjá yfir, 'to look over, survey, investigate', 55.

sjálf-dæmi, n., 'self-judgement', as a law term (GN 104), acc. sing., 285.

sjálfr, pron., adj., 'oneself, himself, herself, itself', 256; sjálfs, m. gen. sing., 197.

sjálf-ráði, adj., 'of free will, voluntary'; the neut., sjálfrátt, 'in one's power, easy for one if one likes', 179.

skammr, adj., 'short'; skamt, 'a short distance', 402, 406, 474; adverbially, skömmu, 'shortly', 440.

skap, n., 'condition of mind, temper, mood'; í móti skapi, 'displeased, dissatisfied with', dat. sing., 316.

skap-lyndi, f., 'mind, temper, disposition'; fálátr í skaplyndi, 'cold in disposition', dat. sing., 466.

skarð, n., 'a hare-lip'; skarða, as a nickname, 625, 637; skarði, 630, 656.

skaut. See skjóta.

skáli, m., 'a hall' (GN 56); skála, acc. sing., 122.

skáru. See skera.

skera, pres. sker; pret. skar, pl. skáru; subj. skæri; part. skorinn:– 'to cut'; skáru ór, 'cut right through', 423; skerr, pres. sing., 486.

skerða, 'to diminish, reduce', 304.

skikkja, f., 'a cloak, mantle'; skikkjunni, instr. dat. sing., art. suff., 232.

skilja, pres. skil, skill; pret. skilði, skildi; part. skiliðr, neut. skilið and skilt:– ‘to part, separate, divide’; skilið, part., 353; skildu, pret. pl., 190; skildusk, reflex. pret. pl., 583; reflex. with prep., ok þótti mönnum, hann hafa lítt skilisk við málin, ‘and it seemed to men that he had little forsaken the case’, i.e. ‘had not given up the case’, part., 257.

skilnaðr, m., ‘a separation’, 233; at skilnaði, dat. sing. ‘at their parting’, 257.

skip, n., ‘a ship’, 579, 632; nom. pl., 598; acc. sing., 272; skipi, dat. sing., 558, 560, 629, 632; skipit, nom. sing. with art. suff., 276; skipsins, gen. sing., 278, 638.

skipa, ‘to arrange something’; skipaði land, ‘surveyed the land, arranged the landing’ [?], pret. sing., 275; skipaðr, part., 636.

skips-flak, n., ‘a wreck’; skipsflakinu, dat. sing. with art. suff., 279.

skipta, ‘to part, share, divide’; skipt, part., 312(2x); skipti, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 250; skiptir, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 66; þat skiptir þik engu, ‘you do not share in that, that does not concern you’, 484; skiptu, pret. pl., 515.

skipti, n., ‘a division, distribution, difference, sharing’; dat. sing., 606.

skír-dagr, m., ‘Maundy Thursday’, i.e. the Thursday before Easter; skírdag, acc. sing., 362.

skjóta, ‘to push or shove quickly’; skaut, pret. sing., 537.

skjót-liga, adv., ‘swiftly, quickly’, 550:

skjótr, adj., ‘swift, fleet’; skjótar, compar., f. nom. pl., 351; neut. as adv., skjótt, ‘speedily, quickly’, 121, 128, 169, 359, 589.

skjöldr, m., ‘a shield’; skildir, nom. pl., 321.

skorta, ‘to be short of, lack’, 74, 92, 343.

skógar-maðr, m., ‘an outlaw’ (GN 84); skógarmann, acc. sing., 573.

skrám-leitr, adj., ‘looking scared; of gold-grey complexion’ (Fritzner 1973: 375), 248.

skripta, ‘to shrive, hear confession’; skriptask, part., ‘shriven’, 452; reflex., skripta-ðisk, ‘to go to confession’, 451.

skryll, m., ‘a mob’; skryllir, as a nickname for which there is no plausible translation, 564.

skulu, verb with pres. in the pret. form; pres. skal, skalt, skal, pl. skulum, skulut, skulu; pret. skyldi and skyldu; subj. pres. skyli, skuli, pret. skyldi, skyldu; pres. inf. skulu, pret. inf. skyldu:– ‘shall, must’; skal, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 67, 75, 142, 435, 442, etc.; skalt, pres. 2nd pers. sing., 437, 532; skaltu (skal + þú), 162, 478; skyldi, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 218, 234, 236(2x), 252, 253(2x), etc.; subj. pret. pl., 292; skyldu, pret. pl., 133, 208, 210, 219, 255, etc.; skyldu, pret. infin., 59, 317, 507.

skunda, ‘to speed, hasten’, 165.

skyrhnakkr, m., ‘curd-stool’, as a nickname, 31, 97, 345, 396, 427, etc.; skyrhnakk, acc., 67.

skörugliga, adv., ‘bravely, boldly, as expected, honourably’, 135.

sköru-ligr, adj., ‘brave, frank, bold, honourable, manly in appearance’, 649.

slá, pres. slæ; pret. sló, pl. slógum; part. sleginn:– ‘to smite, strike’: fig., slógu hringum, lit. ‘made a ring around’, i.e. ‘surrounded’, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 138; slást í þessi mál með, refl. pres. pl., ‘join/support in this suit’, 201.

slíkr, adj., ‘such’; slíka, f. acc. sing., 183, 478; slíks, n. gen. sing., 590; slíku, dat. sing., 326; slíkum, n. dat. pl., 149.

slær, adj., ‘blunt’, 583.

smiðr, m., ‘a smith, craftsman, wright’, of workers in metal and wood, ship or house-building; smið, acc. sing., as a nickname, 381.

smjör-laupr, m., ‘a butterchest’; smjörlauf, acc. sing., 280.

sneiða, ‘to cut into slices’; sneiddi, pret. sing., 496.

snúa, ‘to turn, set out, go somewhere, go on a journey’; sneri, pret. sing., 352; snúit, part., 200; snýr, pres. sing., 400.

soðning, f., ‘boiling’; þau vóru at soðningu, ‘they were boiling some food’, 118.

son(r), m., ‘son’, 32, 265 (with the r dropped), 491, 517; son, acc. sing., 27, 503; sonu, acc. pl., 263; sona, gen. pl., 645; sonum, dat. pl., 364; synir, nom. pl., 12, 17, 397, 648.

sómi, m., ‘honour’; sóma, acc. sing., 262.

sótt (pl. -ir), f., ‘sickness, illness, disease’; tók sótt, ‘was taken ill’, acc. sing., 362; sóttina, acc. sing. with art. suff., 37.

spara, ‘to spare’, 174.

spjót, n., ‘spear, lance’; acc. sing., 429; acc. pl., 128, 321; spjóti, dat. sing., 427.

spjót-skapt, n., ‘a spear-pole, handle, shaft’; spjótskaptit, acc. sing., 430.

spjóts-oddr, m., ‘a spear’s point, head’; spjótsoddana, acc. pl. with art. suff., 132.

spretta, ‘loosen’; sprettu gjörðunum, ‘ungirded, loosened the girdle’, 422; spratt, ‘to start, spring’, pret. sing., 119.

spyrja, pres. **spyr**, **spyrjum**, pl. **spurði**; subj. **spyrði**; imperat. **spyr**, **spyrðu**; part. **spurðr**, **spurt**; :– ‘to ask, investigate, find out’, 596, 600; pres. 3rd pers. pl., 184; **spyr**, pres. 1st pers. sing., 527; **spyrir**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 310, 520, 594; **spurði**, pres. 3rd pers. pl., 161, 482, 595, 597, 601, 603; **spurðu**, pret. 3rd pers. pl. 140, 389; **spurðisk**, reflex., ‘to be reported, get abroad’, 387.

staddr, part. as adj. from **steðja**, ‘placed, present’; **þá er hann var staddr**, ‘there where he happened to be present’, 89.

staðar-prestr, m., ‘a parish priest’, 443.

stað-festa, f., ‘a fixed abode, residence’; **staðfestu**, acc. sing., 48.

staðr, m., ‘stead, place, spot’; **stað**, acc. sing., 179; ‘a church establishment’; **staðar eign**, gen. sing., ‘church property’, 312; **á staðnum**, dat. pl., 351, 443; **nema stað**, ‘take up their position, halt’, 401.

stafn-lok, n., ‘the half-deck in the forecastle’; acc. sing., 278.

standa, pres. **stend**, **stendr**, pl. **stöndum**, **standit**, **standa**; pret. **stóð**, **stótt**, **stóttu**, **stóð**, pl. **stóðum**; subj. **stæði**; imperat. **statt**, **stattú**; part. **staðinn**:– ‘to stand’, 538; with prep.: **standa fyrir**, ‘stand before, stand in the way of a thing’, 155, 545; **stendr**, pres. sing., 414; **stóð**, pret. sing., 275, 365, 422, 458, 542, 551; **stóðu**, pret. pl., 388.

stál-húfa, f., ‘a kind of helmet, a steel cap’, 392; **stálhúfu**, acc. sing., 409; **stálhúfur**, acc. pl., 321.

stefna, a law term, ‘to give notice to one, to summon a person’ in such a case; with a double dat.: **stefndr**, pret. sing., 641; **stefnir**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 62.

stefna, f., a law term, ‘a summons, citation’; **stefnuna**, acc. sing. with art. suff., 63.

stefnu-för, f., ‘a journey to summon someone’, 62.

steina, 'to stain, colour'; esp. as a part., í steindum sōðlum, 'in stained saddles', i.e. saddles made of wood and then painted, 404.

sterkr, adj., 'strong'; sterkastr, superl., 394.

stig-reip, n., 'a stirrup'; stigreipum, dat. pl., 422.

stofa, f., 'room'; stofu, dat. sing., 513; acc. sing., 540; stofunni, dat. with art. suff., 113.

stóll, m., 'bishop's see or residence'; stóls, gen. sing., 656.

stórr, adj., fig., 'great, important'; stærstu, superl., m. pl., 267.

stríp-rendr, part. adj.; stríprenda, 'with stripes', f. acc. sing., 462.

stund, f., 'a certain length of time, a while', 183; stundir, nom. pl., 608; þeim stundum er hann vill verit hafa, 'whenever he wanted to', dat. pl., 68.

stýra, 'to steer', with dat.; stýrði, pret. sing., 632.

stýri-maðr, m., 'a skipper, captain', 661.

stöpulldyrr, f. pl., 'steeple doorway, main church entrance'; acc. pl., 131(2x).

suðr, adv., 'south', 193, 213, 229, 556, 558, etc.

sumar, n., 'summer', 33, 54, 222, 228, 285, etc.; sumars, gen. sing., 38, 334; þat er eftir var sumars, 'that which/what was left of the summer', 100; sumarit, acc. sing. with art. suff., 84, 225, 229, 290, 565, etc.; sumri, dat. sing., 233.

sumr, adj., 'some'; sumir, m. nom. pl., 35, 422.

sundr-þykki, n., 'discord, disagreement', 212.

Sunnlendinga-fjórðungr, m., ‘the south quarter’ (GN 85); Sunnlendinga-fjórðungi, acc. sing., 223.

svar, n., ‘a reply, answer’; engi var til svaranna, n. gen. pl., ‘nobody acted as a spokesman, nobody replied’, 226.

svara, ‘to reply, answer’; svaraði, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 493; svarar, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 124, 138, 144, 149, 327, etc.

svarð-reiði, m., ‘tackle (harness) of walrus-hide’; svarðreiðinn, acc. sing., 280.

svart-leggja, f., ‘black leg’ or ‘black stalk’, of a battle-axe with a smokey black handle (GN 131); svartleggju, acc. sing., 393.

svartr, adj., ‘black’; as a nickname, Kolbeini svarta, m. dat. sing., 273.

svá, adv., ‘so, thus’, 59, 170, 196, 227, 275, etc.; svá ... sem, ‘as ... as, such ... that’, 218, 275; svá at, ‘so that’, 65, 163, 276, 399, 427, etc.; ok svá, ‘and also, as also’, 64, 86, 134, 222, 275, etc.

sveimr, m., ‘a soaring, bustle, tumult, stir’, as a nickname: Snorri sveimr, 29, 73, 132, 396, 423, etc.; sveims, gen. sing., 65.

sveinn, m., ‘boy’; sveininn, nom. sing. with art. suff., 517; svein, acc. sing., 46.

sveit, f., ‘a body’, esp. as a milit. term, ‘a squad, small detachment, company; a district’; sveita, gen. pl., 653; sveitanna, gen. pl. with art. suff., 291; sveitina, acc. sing., art. suff., 300; sveitir, acc. pl., 664, 669; sveitum, acc. pl., 565.

sveitar-maðr, m. pl., ‘a man belonging to a community or district’; sveitarmönnum, dat. pl., 372.

sverð, n., ‘a sword’; sverðit, nom. with art. suff., 428; sverði, dat. sing., 410, 426; sverðum, acc. pl., 139.

sverja, 'to swear', 190; sór, pret. sing., 305; sóru pret. pl., 217.

svín, n., 'a swine, pig'; svína, gen. pl., 320.

syngja, 'to sing'; sungu, pret. pl., 459, 509.

systir, f., 'sister', 204; systir, nom. pl., 14; systur, acc. sing., 24, 341.

systkin, n. pl. collect., 'brother(s) and sister(s), siblings', 15.

systur-son(r), m. (without nom. -r), 'sister's son', 622.

sýn, f., 'appearance'; sýnum, adverbially, in dat. pl., linked with adj. signifying 'of appearance', 464.

sýna, 'to show; to appear, seem', (with dat.); sýndist, refl., 190; sýnast; sýnt, part., 186.

sýsla, f., as a law term, any 'stewardship' held from the king or bishop; sýslu, acc. sing., 610.

sæmð, f., 'honour'; acc. sing., 109, 272.

sæmi-liga, adv., 'honourably, seemingly, becomingly', 352, 371.

sæmi-ligr, adj., 'stately, impressive, considerable'; sæmiligar, 'costly, fine', f. acc. pl., 308.

sætt, f., 'a reconciliation, settlement, covenant, an agreement', dat. sing., 292; acc. sing., 344; sættar, gen. sing., 217; sættar, acc. pl., 360.

sætta, 'to reconcile, make peace'; sáttir, part., 342, 436; sættusk, recipr., 'came to terms, agreed', 290, 337, 340.

sækja, irregular; pres. **sæki**; pret. **sótti**; subj. **sækti**; part. **sóttir**, **sótt**:- ‘to seek, fetch’; **sótti hann heim**, pret. sing., ‘visited him at home’, 574; **sóttu**, pret. pl., ‘took, accepted’, 307; **sótt**, part., 481.

söðla, ‘to saddle’; **söðla glæp á óhapp**, fig., ‘add crime/wickedness to ill-luck’, 547.

söðull, m., ‘a saddle’; **söðlum**, dat. pl., 404.

söðul-bogi, m., ‘the saddle-bow’; **söðulboga**, dat. sing., 410.

sök, f., ‘cause, reason’; **sakir**, pl., 80; adv. phrase, **fyrir fjár sakar**, gen. sing., ‘because of money (or rather the lack of it), because of his poverty’, 56; **fyrir sakir**, ‘for the sake of’, 126, 577.

sölu-vað, f., ‘a piece of common stuff, wadmal’, 408.

T

taka, ‘to take, catch, seize’, 404, 414, 431, 614; **taka ... at höfðingja**, ‘accept ... as chief, leader’, 642; **taka við**, ‘to receive’, 104, 253, 269, 343, 345, etc.; **tekr**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 65, 69, 128, 342, 384, 421; **tekr upp**, **upp taka**, ‘to take up’, 65, 590; **tekr þar upp bú**, ‘there he seizes on/confiscates the farm/estate’, acc. sing., 65; **tók**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 47, 49, 102, 104, 186, etc.; **tók goðorð eftir föður sinn**, ‘inherited his father’s goðorð’, 47; **tók sótt**, ‘was taken sick or ill’, 362; **tók þat upp**, ‘interpreted that, assumed that’, 186; **tók vel við**, ‘welcomed’, 269; **tóku**, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 140, 424, 425, 657; **tæki**, past subj., ‘should take’, 36; **yfir tæki**, ‘finish off, succeed’, 506; **tekit**, part., 160, 207, 543; **tak**, imperat. sing., 455; **teknir**, part., 513.

taka, f., ‘taking, capture’; **töku**, acc. sing., 296.

tala, ‘to talk, discuss’, 73; **töluðu**, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 98; **talat**, part., 371, 581.

tengdir, f. pl., ‘bonds, kinship, relationship by marriage, affinity’; **tengdum**, dat., 369.

tigr,tögr, m., ‘a ten’ (TN 47), 320; tigi (later), acc. pl., 209, 215, 299, 646; tigu, acc. pl., 107, 318, 669; tigr, nom. pl., 130, 171, 298, 319.

til, prep. with gen., ‘to, as’, 34, 49, 57, 70, 76, etc.; til **handa**, ‘into one’s hands’, 295, 298, 302; til **heyja**, ‘to endure’, 374; denoting business, reason, purpose, capacity, respect: var **körinn/kosinn** til lögmans, ‘was chosen as lawspeaker’, 3; 6; til **fóstrs**, 48, 78, 86; til **móts við**, ‘towards, against’, 165, 171, 487, 645, 648; til **at fara**, ‘to proceed’, 214; with verbs of providing, helping: til **spara**, ‘towards the end’, 174; with verbs denoting ‘to look, listen, think, speak ...to one’: **heyrði til**, with dat., ‘to behove’, 369; kom til, ‘arrived, came’, 586, 671; **kæmi til**, subj. pret., 256, 581.

tíðenda-lauss, adj., ‘void of news, void of startling tidings’; **tíðendalaust**, 191.

tíðindi, n. pl., ‘tidings, news’, 363; varð til **tíðinda**, gen. pl., ‘happened, occurred’, 361, 385; acc. pl., 520, 596.

tíðr, adj., used adverbially: **sem tíðast**, ‘at once, with all speed; as he desired’, 385.

tími, m., ‘time, a period, time span’; í **þann tíma**, ‘at that time’, 41.

tíu, card. num., ‘ten’, 321.

tólf, card. num., ‘twelve’, 318, 321(2x), 491.

traustr, adj., ‘trusting, confident, dependable, trustworthy,’; **traustan**, 590.

trúa, ‘to believe, trust’, 315; **trúði**, pret. sing., 238, 374.

trúnaðar-eiðr, m., ‘an oath of allegiance’; **trúnaðareiða**, acc. sing., 188, 190, 218.

trúnaðar-maðr, m., ‘a confidant’; **trúnaðarmenn**, nom. pl., 267.

tuttugu, indecl. adj., ‘twenty’, 300, 320.

tún, n., 'the enclosed in-field, home-field, home meadow'; túnit, acc. sing. with art. suff., 517.

tveir, card. numb., 'two'; tvá, m. acc., 187, 263, 271; tvau, n. acc., 296.

týna, refl., 'to perish, be lost'; týndisk þeir allir, 'they all perished', 277.

U

ugga, 'to fear, dread, suspect, apprehend', 80; uggi, pres. 1st pers. sing., 329; uggði mjök um frændr sína ok vini, 'was greatly concerned about his kinsmen and friends', pret. sing., 613.

ulf-liðr, m., 'the wolf's joint', i.e. 'the wrist'; ulflið, acc. sing., 536.

um, prep. with dat. and acc.:—

'around', 139, 303, 383, 421, 652;

'about, all over, across', 177, 639;

'because of, for', 288;

'of, about, in regard to a thing', 62(2), 199, 500, 594, 606; um héraðsstjórn, 'in, regarding the government of the district', 52;

temp., 'during, in the course of': um daginn, 'in the course of the day', 481; 345, 653; um morgininn, 'next morning', 108, 403, 593; um nótt, um nóttina, 'during the night', 115, 118, 229; um sumarit, 'in the summer', 229, 290, 609; um várit, 'during the spring', 62, 193, 626; um veizluna, 'during the feast', 98; um vetrinn, 'during the winter', 60, 191, 192, 361, 568, etc.; um sinn, adv., 'for the present', 625.

una, 'to enjoy, be happy in, contented, satisfied with a thing'; undi flla við sinn hlut, 'was dissatisfied with his lot', 613.

undan, prep. with dat., and adv., 'from under, from underneath', 559; fig., eirir undan þá en fyrst, 'withdraws/yields at first', 176.

undar-liga, adv., ‘wondrously, strangely, extraordinarily’, 391.

undir, prep. with dat. or acc., ‘under, underneath, below’, 83, 158, 208, 276, 294, etc.; **vígja undir kórónu**, ‘crown with the consecration of the church, anoint as king’, 2, 7; **undir þér eiga**, ‘have in your power, in your hands’, 147; **leggja þetta mál undir**, ‘submits that case, suit to’, 552.

undra, ‘to be surprised, astonished, to wonder at a person or thing’; **undruðusk**, refl. pret. pl., ‘were filled with wonder/amazement’, 459.

ungr, adj., ‘young’; **ungra**, gen. pl., 318.

upp, adv., ‘up’, 119(2x), 162, 270, 304, etc.

upp-haf, n., ‘commencement, beginning’; **ok var þat upphaf**, ‘and at first, at the beginning’, 295.

Ú

úlatr, adj., ‘not lazy’; **úlatt**, n. nom. sing., 599.

út, adv., ‘out, towards the outer side’, 114, 119, 128, 132, 136, etc.; **koma út**, as a naut. phrase, ‘out’ to Iceland from Norway, 579, 662, 663.

útan, adv., ‘abroad’, 225, 244, 556, 616; **fara útan**, ‘to go abroad’ to Norway, 228, 238, 245, 257, 284, etc.; **um útan**, ‘on the outside, clothed in’, 392.

útan-ferð, f., ‘a journey abroad’ to Norway; acc. sing., 233, 240.

úti, adv., ‘out, out-of-doors’, of place, not of motion, 542.

úti-vist, f., 'a being out at sea, voyage'; **höfðu langa útivist**, 'had a long voyage', acc. sing., 273.

útlaga, adj., 'outlawed, banished', 220.

ú-vinr, m.; **úvin**, 'foe, enemy', acc. sing., 152.

V

vakna, 'to awake, wake up'; **vaknaða**, pret. 1st pers. sing., 600.

vald, n., 'power, control, authority'; acc. sing., 270.

vandi, m., 'custom, practice, habit'; **at vanda**, 'as usual', 388.

vand-ræði, n., 'difficulty, trouble'; acc. sing., 73, 126, 178, 332.

vanmátt m., 'failing strength, illness'; **vanmætti**, dat. sing., 38.

varð-veita, 'to give ward to, hold, keep, preserve'; **varð-veitti**, pret. sing., with acc., 50; **varðveittu**, imperat. sing., 484.

varr, adj.; **vart**, part.; **vart hafa orðit við ferð þeira**, 'has heard about/become aware of/learnt about their journey', 141; **görði Ögmundr vart við**, 'Ögmundr made it known', 194.

vaxa, 'to appear, arise, grow, increase'; **vex**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 212.

ván, f., 'a hope, expectation': **þess er ván**, 'this is the expectation/to be expected', 78; 283, 450, 451; **vánir**, acc. pl. 580.

vár, n., 'spring', 284, 367, 561; **várit**, nom. sing. with art. suff., 374; acc. sing., 62, 193, 626.

vár, pers. pron., gen. pl. of vér: 'our'; várar, possessive adj., f. gen. pl., 360; vár Eyjólf's, 'between Eyjólf and me', 606.

vár-kunn, f., 'an excuse', 325.

veðr, n., 'the wind', 276; veðrit, nom. sing. with art. suff., 275.

vefja, pres. vef; pret. vafði; subj. vefði; part. vafiðr, vafðr, vafinn:– 'to wrap, fold'; refl. sem vöfðuzk í, 'such as they were wrapped up/ entangled in', 42.

vega, 'to smite, slay, slaughter'; veginn, part., m., 47, 246; vegnir, 627.

vegr, m., 'a way, road'; fig., fann ekki á honum annan veg en, 'found/perceived nothing different in him', special, partly adv. phrase, 460; um farinn veg, 'on the way, en route', 349; veginum, dat. sing with art. suff., 402.

veita, 'to grant, to give, to help'; veitta, part., 110; veitti, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 153; hverr þeira skyldi veita öðrum, recipr., 'each of them had to help, back, assist the other', 255; veitt var, part., 'proved hard/difficult to bear', 605.

veizla, f., 'a treat, a feast, a banquet', 585; veizlu, acc. sing., 95; dat. sing., 591; veizluna, acc. sing. with art. suff., 98; veizlunnar, gen. sing. with art. suff., 97; veizlunni, dat. sing.; af veizlunni, 'from the feast', 99; 587.

vel, adv., 'well', 69, 74, 103, 238, 269, etc.; hélt sér vel fram, 'took on a dominant role', 52; vel á sik kominn, 'well placed, accomplished', 394.

vel-görningr, m., 'a well-doing, kindness, benefit'; velgörning, acc. sing., 153; velgörninga, acc. pl., 109.

velja, 'choose, elect, pick out'; valði, pret. sing., 646.

vera, pres. em, ert, er; pl. erum, eruð, eru; pret. var, vart, var; pl. vóru; pret. subj. sé, sér, sé:– pret.-pres. v. substantive; 'to be, happen', 71, 72, 124, 125, 152, etc.; má

vera, 'it may be', 122; **at vera**, inf., 70; 'before, at the head of', denoting leadership, **vera fyrir flokki**, 125, 253, 254, 638; **er**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 'is', 60, 78, 100(1), 192(2x), etc.; **ert**, pres. 2nd pers. sing., 180, 527; **eru**, 'are', pres. 3rd pers. pl., 137; **er fyrir eru**, 'which are at hand, present' 123, 230; **við**, 'we two', pres. 1st pers. dual, 435; **var**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 'was', 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, etc.; **vóru**, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 'were', 12, 13, 15(2x), 17, 19, etc.; **verit**, part., 68, 358, 469, 569, 604, 611, 628; **væri**, subj. pret., 80, 141, 205, 325, 342, etc.; **gott væri enn at lifa**, 'it would be good yet (still) to be alive', i.e. 'to live longer', 471; **væri til**, 'to exist', ellipt. and adv. phrase, 80; **sé**, pres. subj., 122, 148, 182, 606; **ver**, imperat. sing., 183.

verða, 'to become, happen, come to pass', 74, 75, 196; **harðr verða í horn at taka**, 'become hard to take by the horns', i.e. difficult to deal with, 614; **verða til tíðinda**, 'to happen, occur', 361; **vel verða við**, 'to behave well', 74; **verðr**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 114, 276; **verðr þessa vís**, 'ascertains, becomes aware of this', 114; **varð**, pret. sing., 35, 58, 98, 227, 232, etc.; **varð þat at sætt**, 'it was agreed that ...', 292; **ok svá varð**, 'and this came to pass, happened', 333; fig., **varð honum at engu liði**, 'did not come to his aid', 240; **varð þá fegin**, 'then became joyful, rejoiced', f. nom. sing., 342; **varð við**, 'responded', pret. sing., 539; **orðit**, part., 141, 166.

verk, n., 'work, business, deed'; **verki**, dat. sing., 309.

verk-maðr, m., 'a workman, labourer, servant'; **verkmenn**, nom. pl., 388.

verkr, m., 'pain'; **verk**, nom. pl.: **verk laust í hönd honum**, lit. 'he was afflicted by pain in his arm', 33.

verr, adv. compar., 'worse', 605.

verri, compar. adj., 'worse'; **verra**, m. acc. sing., 507, 525.

vestr, n., as adv., 'westwards', 339, 640, 664, 667; **vestr fyrir**, 'on the western side of', 275.

vetr, m., ‘winter, year’; acc. sing., 271, 556, 611, 628; **vetra**, gen. pl., 1, 51, 470, 491, 649; **vetrinn**, acc. sing., 61, 191, 192, 349, 361, etc.

vetr-gamall, adj., ‘a winter old’, i.e. ‘a year old’; **vetrgamalla**, acc. pl., 320.

vér. See **ek**.

við, prep., with acc. or dat., or adv., ‘with, against’, 37, 58, 126, 165, 171, etc.; ‘along with, with’, denoting company: **við sétta mann**, ‘with the sixth man’, 541, 542;

við-bjóðr, m., ‘disgust’; **mér er viðbjóðr við öllu**, ‘I feel a strong dislike, aversion, loathing, disgust in everything’, 604.

við-björn, m., ‘a wood-bear, black bear’, 598.

við-ræða, f., ‘a speaking with, conversation’; **viðræðu**, dat. acc. sing., 465.

viðtaka, f., ‘resistance, opposition’; **viðtöku**, acc. sing., 135.

vika, f., ‘week’; **vikum**, dat. pl., 308.

vilja, pres. **vilja**, 2nd pers. sing. **vill** and **vilt**, 3rd pers. **vill**; pret. **vildi**; part. **viljað**; pret. subj. **vildi**; pret. infin. **vildu**:– ‘to will, wish’, 449, 526, 531; **þat vilja víst**, ‘certainly wished that’, 535; **vil**, pres. 1st pers. sing., 439, 162, 169; **vill**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 68, 85, 101, 102, 193, etc.; **vildi**, pret. sing., 56, 219(2x), 230, 373, 479, 502, 589, 673(2x); **vildi**, pret. subj., 161, 328; **vildu**, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 188, 209, 590; **vili**, subj. pres. 3rd pers. sing., 79; **vilið**, pres. 3rd pers. pl., 136, 142, 503; **vilt**, pres. 2nd pers. sing., 152; **vilda**, pret., with subj., 430, 471, 600.

vina-boð, n., ‘a feast of friends, banquet’ to which one invites one’s friends; acc. sing., 248.

vinátta, f., ‘friendship’, 32, 267; **vináttu**, acc. sing., 368.

vingask, ‘to make friends’; **vingaðist**, pret. sing., 260.

vin-gjarnligr, adj., ‘friendly, kind’; vingjarnlig, n. acc. pl., 348.

vinna, pres. vinn, vinnr; pret. vann, vannt, vann; pl. unnu; part. unninn:– ‘to work, labour’; 504, vinna at honum, ‘to attack him with weapons’, 505; at vinna honum trúnaðareíða, ‘to swear him an oath’, 188; á Guðmund at vinna, ‘to attack/assault Guðmundr with weapons, to do Guðmundr bodily harm’, 479; vunnit, part., ‘won, gained’, 500; hverjum bezt vinnask penningar, ‘for whom the money will last/suffice best’, reflex., 529.

vinr, m., ‘friend’ (GN 20), 30; vinar, m. gen. sing., 378; vini, acc. pl., 78, 614; vina, gen. pl., 663; vinir, nom. pl., 39, 668; vinum, dat. pl., 650.

vinsæll, adj., ‘blessed with friends, beloved, popular, endeared, much liked’, 8, 180; vinsælastr af öllum óvígðum höfðingjum, ‘the most popular of all the unordained/lay chieftains’, superl., 40.

virða, ‘to fix the worth of a thing’, 111; virði, pret. sing., ‘think (much) of’, 202.

virðing, f., ‘a valuation, taxing; opinion, esteem, respect’, acc. sing., 151; í góðri virðingu, dat. sing., ‘in high esteem, in good renown’, 263.

vist, f., ‘abode, dwelling, domicile’, acc., 68; ‘food, provisions, viands’, 279.

vit. See ek.

vita, pres. veit, veizt (veiztu), veit; pl. vitum, vituð, vitu; pret. vissa, vissir, vissi; subj. pres. vita, pret. vissa; imperat. vit, vittú; part. vitaðr:– pret.-pres. ‘to know’, 125, 162, 502, 597, 602; vissi, pret. sing., 498, 597; vissu, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 98, 199; ‘to find out, see’: vitat, part., 357; veit, pres. sing., 528.

vittr, adj., ‘sensible, intelligent, wise’, 8.

vígja, ‘to consecrate, ordain, anoint as king’ (in a Christian sense); vígði, 3rd pers. pret., 2; var vígðr til ábóta, ‘was ordained as abbot’, part., 6, 7.

vígr, adj., ‘in fighting state, serviceable, skilled in arms’; vígra, m. nom. pl., 130.

víss, adj., ‘certain’; 114; víst, neut. as adv., ‘certainly, surely’, 535.

vópna, n., ‘weapon’; vópnum, dat. pl., 129, 431, 433; vópna, acc. pl., 354, 399.

vópna, ‘to furnish with arms’; vópnaðir, ‘armed’, 414, 467; vópnum, dat. pl., 431.

vópna-færr, adj., ‘skilled in arms, able to use weapons’; vópna-fært, part., adj., 130.

vægja, ‘to give way, to spare, to judge leniently’, 87, 372.

væta, f. ‘wetness, moisture, rain’; vætu, acc. sing., 409.

vöxtr, m., ‘size, stature’; á vöxt, ‘in size’, 410; vexti, dat. sing., 466.

Y

yfir, prep. with dat., ‘over, at’, 309, 365, 542, 551;

prep. with acc., ‘over, across’, 408, 642;

with the verb sjá followed by the acc.: sjá yfir efni hans, ‘oversee/superintend his possessions’, 55, 58; other expressions: fram yfir, ‘beyond, until after’, 106.

yfir-höfn, f., ‘an overcoat’; acc. sing., 462; yfirhöfnunni, dat. sing. with art. suff., 453.

yðr, dat. pl., ‘you’, 79; yðra, pers. pron. 2nd pers. pl., ‘your’, 126.

Þ

þaðan, adv., ‘thence, from there; thenceforth’, 66, 67, 234, 305, 637, 664; þaðan fra, ‘from that time onwards’, 368.

þakka, ‘to thank’; þakkar, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 71.

þangat, adv., ‘thither, to that place’, 95.

þann. See sá.

þar, adv., ‘there, at that place’, 36, 38, 65(2x), 72, 73, etc.; þar er hann var staddr, ‘wherever he happened to be’, 89; þar sem þeir vóru hans þingmenn, lit. ‘as/since they were’, 187; þar sem þeir koma, ‘there where/wherever they come’, 215; 435, 496, 508, 537; with prep.: þar með, ‘besides that, moreover’, 314; þar til þings, ‘to the thing’, 84; þar um Síðuna, ‘around Síðan, in the vicinity of Síðan’, 11; þar við, ‘therewith, 280; of time: ‘then’, 49, 71, 95.

þat, gen. þess, dat. því, acc. þat; pl. þessi, þessera, þessum, þessi:– neut. of a demonstr. pron; ‘that, it’, 3, 33, 47, 51, 100, 240, 241, etc.; þess, gen., 78, 104, 110, 144, 332, 369, 418, 450, 577, 579; þessi n. nom. pl. ‘these’, 201; þessa, n. gen. sing., ‘of this’, 114; þat, acc. sing., 35, 56, 63, 79, 125, 149, etc.; (see also því).

þau. See þeir.

þá, adv., ‘then, at that time’, 3, 16, 24, 34, 39, etc.; with er, es, ‘when’: þá er, 1, 219, 225, 269, 574; ‘then’, 413(2x).

þá, dem. pron. (see sá).

þegar, adv., ‘at once, forthwith, immediately’, 55, 94, 163, 428, 513, etc.

þegja, ‘to be silent’, 323.

þeim. See *sá*, *þeir*.

þeir, *þær*, *þau*; gen. *þeirra*, dat. *þeim*, acc. *þá*, *þær*, *þau*; 3rd pers. pron. pl. corresponding to *hann*, *hón*, *þat*:– ‘they’, 13, 73, 77, 98, 105, etc.; *þau*, nom. pl., n. acc. pl., 196, 203, 291, 305; *þeim*, dat. pl., ‘them’, 42, 81, 154, 155(2x), 187, etc.; *þeira*, gen. pl., ‘their, of them, of those’, 14, 17, 19, 22, 32, etc.; demonstr. pron. pl., ‘they, those’; used collect. and pleonast. before the names of two or more persons, the neuter *þau* being used when the persons are of different sexes: *synir hans voru þeir Sæmundr, Ormr ok Guðmundr*, ‘his sons were Sæmundr, Ormr and Guðmundr’, 12, 17; *þeir Ögmundr*, ‘Ögmundr and his son’, 515; *þeir Sæmundr*, ‘Sæmundr and his men’, 115, 133, 176, 406, 549, 616; *þeir Ormssynir*, ‘the two sons of Ormr (Sæmundr and Guðmundr)’, 387; *þeir Þorsteinn hrakauga ok Árni gullskeggr*, ‘Þorstein ... and ... Árni’, 556; 558; *þau voru fimm systkin*, ‘they were five children’ (i.e. siblings, including boys and girls), 15; ellipt. where one part is understood and not named: *þeim Sæmundi* ‘with Sæmundr and his men’, 53; *þeim Agli ok Ragnheiði*, ‘with Egill and Ragnheiðr’, 66; *með þeim mágum*, i.e. between her husband, Ögmundr, and nephews Sæmundr and Guðmundr, 332; *með þeim feðgum*, i.e. between Gizurr himself and his three sons (Hallr, Isleifr and Kerilbjörn), 650; *við þá Ögmund*, ‘against Ögmundr and his men’, 487.

þeira. See *hann*.

þerra, f., ‘a towel’; *þerrunni*, dat. sing. with art. suff., 383.

þessi, *þessi*, *þetta*, dem. pron., ‘this’; *þessa*, ‘these’, m. acc. pl. 401; *þetta* n. nom. sing., 324, 387, 446, 603, 627; n. acc. sing., 60, 73, 105, 176, 242, etc.; *við þetta*, ‘after this’, 58, 191; *þessa*, f. acc. sing., ‘this’, 109, 114, 344; *þessi*, f. nom. sing., 201, 207, 435; *þessi*, ‘these’, n. nom. pl. 21; *þessir*, ‘these’ m. nom. pl., 398; *þessu*, ‘this’, n. dat., 175, 374; *í þessu* ‘in this moment’, 133; *þessum* m. dat. sing., 38, 125; *þessum*, ‘these’, m. dat. pl., 32; (see also *sá*).

þér. See *þú*.

þing, n., ‘meeting, assembly, parliament’ (GN 23); þingi, dat. sing., 33, 286; þinginu, dat. with art. suff., ‘the thing/assembly’, 36, 37, 85, 88, 226, 310; þings, gen. sing., 84, 85, 567, 572.

þing-maðr, m., ‘a liegeman belonging to a specific þing-community’; þingmenn, pl., 187.

þingreið, f., ‘a riding to attend parliament’, 222, 565.

þinn, þín, þítt, possessive pron., ‘yours, your’, 358, 438, 479.

þjóna, ‘to attend on as a servant, wait on’, in Icel. households chiefly used of maid-servants; þjónaði, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 383.

þoka, f., ‘a fog, mist’, 409.

þó, conj., ‘though, yet, but yet, nevertheless’, 102, 197, 221, 328, 525; en þó, ‘(but) still, yet’, 212, 352; ok þó, ‘and besides, and even, to boot’, 29, 411, 454.

þótt, conj., ‘although, even though, even if’, 80, 147, 180, 181, 373, etc.

þrettán, card. numb., ‘thirteen’, 279.

þrettándi, ord. numb., ‘thirteenth’; þrettánda, acc. sing., 400.

þrekaðr, part.; þrekaðir, ‘worn, exhausted’ from being tossed by wind and waves, 283.

þriði, ord. numb., ‘the third’, 278, 444; hálfr þriði tögr, ‘half the third ten’, i.e. ‘twenty-five’, 320.

þrír, cardinal num., ‘three’, 216, 298, 443, 648; þrjá, acc. sing., ‘three’, 628; þrimr, all genders, dat., 43, 554; þrjá tigi, acc., ‘three tens, thirty’, 299; þrjá tigu, acc., 1, 318, 554.

þrúttinn, part., ‘swollen, oppressed’ by anger, 476.

þungi, m., ‘load, burden, heaviness, circumstances in which one feels troubled/burdened’; **þunga**, acc. sing. (weak decl.), 38.

þurfa, ‘to need, want’; with gen., ‘to stand in need of’; **þyrfti**, pret. subj., 328: **hvers sem hann þyrfti við**, ‘whatever he might stand in need of’, 198, 255.

þú, pers. pron., 2nd pers. sing., ‘you’, 145, 149, 151, 152, 180(2x), etc.; **þér**, dat. sing., 147, 153, 181, 183, 355, etc.; **þér**, nom. pl., ‘you’, 126, 136(2x), 142, 503; **þín**, gen. sing., 358, 438; **þínum**, dat. sing., 431; **þik**, acc. sing., 475, 484, 523, 528.

þvá, ‘to wash’; **þvegit**, n. part., 516.

því, dem. pron. and adj., dat. (from **þat**, ‘that’), 69, 227, 309, 312; ‘therefore’, 342; ‘therefore’, 342; of time: **á því ári**, ‘in that year’, 6, 246; **á því sumri**, ‘in that summer’, 233; **at því**, adv. of time, ‘thereafter’, 82, 151, 156, 191, etc.; **því at**, ‘because’, 40, 41, 78, 81, 137, etc.; **með því at**, ‘as, because, in consequence of’, 237; **tók því seinliga**, ‘took that indifferently’, 102; **á því bréfi**, ‘in that letter’, 370; in indef. phrases, **at því varð**, ‘it came to pass’, 35.

þykkja, pres. **þykkir**; pret. **þótti**; subj. **þætti**; part. **þótt**; middle form **þykkjumk**:– ‘to be thought, seem’; **þykkir/þykki**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 58, 524, 525; **þótti**, pres. 3rd pers. sing., 88, 130, 142, 237, 257, etc.; reflex.: **þóttisk**, pret. 3rd pers. sing., 63; **þóttusk**, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 196; **þykkjumk**, 1st pers. pres., 125; **þætti mikit**, ‘thought much of it, was sorry, was angry’, pret. subj., 325.

þykk-leitr, adj., ‘thick-faced’, 464.

þykkur, adj., ‘thick, stout’, 394.

þær (also see **þeir**), f. pers. pron. pl., ‘they, those’, 204; acc., 134.

Æ

æpa, 'to call out, shout, cry'; æptu upp, 'broke into a cheer, clamour, war-cry', 322.

æra, 'to honour; ærit, part., 500.

ætla, 'to think, mean, suppose', 327, 602; 'to intend, purpose'; ætlaða, pres. 2nd pers. sing., 149; ætluðu, pret. 3rd pers. pl., 'thought, considered, looked for', 108, 499, 508, 558.

Ö

ö-ruggr, adj., 'trusty, to be relied on'; öruggan, m. acc. sing., 590.

ör-vænn, adj., 'beyond expectation, past hope, unlikely'; örvænt, n. sing., 238.

öx, f., 'an axe'; öxina, acc. sing. with art. suff., 495, 510; öxi, acc. sing., fékk honum þá sömu öxi, 'gave him that same axe', 488; 392, 455, 533; öxinni, dat. sing. with art. suff., 490.

öxl, f., 'the shoulder-joint'; öxlina, acc. sing. with art. suff., 498.

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ADDENDUM II

A Translation of Lines 201 – 221 (a in *Kǫ*)¹

Then Þorvarðr and Oddr, the sons of Þórarinn, join Ögmundr in this suit. Teitr Hallsson was with Sæmundr and Guðmundr and did not think much of it that Ormr Svínfellingr had given Þórarinn those goðorðs which Gróa Teitsdóttir, his mother, and her sister Ragnfríðr had owned; furthermore, they [the sisters] had never been given permission that the goðorðs could be parted with.

Now Sæmundr procured the possession of the goðorðs from those who lawfully owned them and had inherited them. This suit was pleaded at the Alþing and submitted for judgment to Þórðr kakali by both sides. Þórðr ruled that the sons of Þórarinn had to choose whether or not they wanted to pay Sæmundr fifty hundreds and retain ownership of the goðorðs, and formal guarantees had to be given before they rode from Fljótshlíð. They preferred rather to own the goðorðs, but the guarantees were not forthcoming. Sæmundr now lays claim to the goðorðs. And at first it is quiet, yet the discord increases anew between them.

Þorvarðr and Oddr raise a body of men. Þorvarðr goes south into Rangárhverfi and asks men to proceed against Sæmundr. Oddr went north with eighty men. And wherever they come, they plunder. Sæmundr continues northwards against them. Then all of them, except Oddr, leapt up a cliff, and those three rode away from them. Those who were up on the cliff proposed a settlement and swore

¹ Vigfusson places sections **b**, **c**, and **d** before *Svínfellinga saga* (chapter 215 in his edition) as chapters 212, 213 and 214, and **e** directly after **a**. In Jóhannesson et al, **a**, **b**, **d** and **e** are printed as chapters 159 – 162 in the *Íslendinga saga*, while **c** occurs as Addendum II, 5. In Thorsson these five sections are printed in a separate addendum, starting on page 933.

Sæmundr an oath of allegiance. They formally agreed with him that he could fix the amount of compensation as high as he wished, whenever he wished; the brothers would moreover keep all their property if they joined a troop against Sæmundr and be outlawed from their estates. But they nevertheless did that the same summer.

A Translation of Lines 229 – 246 (b in Kå)

In the summer before, Þórðr had ridden south to Hvál and arrived there at night with hostility. Filippus came out, and those men who were with him. Then Hráni Koðráns­son wanted to strike Filippus with a whip, but Þórdís Flosadóttir, Filippus's wife, warded off his arm with her arm and parried the blow. And thus was their parting for the present, that Filippus arranged with Þórðr his journey abroad to Norway that summer.

Thence Þórðr rode to Keldr. Then he sent Aron [Hjörleifsson] to Oddi: he had to bring Haraldr to meet with Þórðr. And when Aron meets Haraldr, he says that they would plead his case if he will go with them and his chances would then be best. And he said that anything else would be unadvisable. Now, as it seemed to Haraldr not unlikely that Aron would manage it so that he would not have to go abroad to Norway, and because he trusted him completely, he went to meet Þórðr. There was no other choice from Þórðr but that Haraldr should arrange his journey abroad. And that came to pass and Aron did not come to his aid. People said that he had not acted properly [towards Haraldr].

That autumn the sons of Þórarinn got married: Þorvarðr married Hálfðan's daughter Solveig, while Oddr married Randalín, the daughter of Filippus. And both were married at the same wedding feast at Hvál in the autumn after the sons of Sæmundr had gone abroad to Norway. Bishop Sigvarðr was at the wedding feast and went abroad later, as did Þórðr Sighvatsson. And during that year Guðmundr Hjáltason was slain.

A Translation of Lines 247 – 268 (c in Kå)

A man was called Hrani and was Koðrán's son. He was big and had a rather dusky complexion; he had a long, raised nosetip. Þórðr kakali had a feast of friends at Grund. Hrani, Þorsteinn's son Eyjólf, Hrafn, Odd's son, Sæmundr, the son of Ormr, Sturla of Staðarhóll and Þorleifr of Garðr were present. At this meeting Þórðr shared power with them.

Eyjólf would have control over Skagafirð and live in Geldingaholt. Hrani would take over the estate at Grund and be in control of the district in Eyjafjörðr. Þorleifr would have command over Borgarfjörðr, whereas Sæmundr would travel east to his own dominion. Each of them would assist the others if anything should be needed. They were not to relinquish their power to anyone, except if either a letter from Þórðr or he himself should arrive. Þórðr gave them all good gifts at parting. Then he went abroad to Norway and it seemed to men that he has little forsaken the case of the Ormssons and Ögmundr.

Hrafn lived at Sauðafell. He had a second farm at Eyr in Arnarfjörðr. Hrafn always travelled to Borgarfjörðr and made friends there with the farmers. Nikulás Oddsson was married to Giða Sölmundardóttir. He was with Þórðr Sighvatsson for a long time and received great honour from him. He was a member of King Hákon's body-guard and in high esteem with him. Gyða and Nikulás had two sons. The one was called Valgarðr and the other Sölmundr, while Helga was their daughter. She was given to Þorlák Narfason in marriage. Their son was Ketill.

Nikulás had a farm in Kalmanstungu and was with Hrafn for a long time and there was great friendship between them. All the most important farmers of the district were confidants of Hrafn: Egill, Þorkell, the priest of Siðumúli, and Finnur of Sámstaðr.

A Translation of Lines 269 – 283 (d in Kå)

When the sons of Sæmundr came to meet King Hákon, he received them well. They surrendered their goðorðs into the control of King Hákon and were with him for two years. Thereafter the king gives them permission to go to Iceland and gave them back their goðorðs and said that he would increase their honour. They board a ship with Kolbein svartá and Skeggja hvíta and sailed out to sea and had a long voyage. And the Sunday before the feast of St Michael they sailed east of Mýdalseyri and then westwards of it and Haraldr stood on the edge of the ship's cargo and surveyed the land. The weather then blew up a gale as the night wore on and it lasted till Monday so that the ship breaks up under them. The men leapt into the ship's boat and they all perished. But four men leapt into the half-deck in the forecastle of the ship and afterwards they say that they knew that Filippus came [three times] onto the keel. They were on the wreck for thirteen days and had nothing to eat except a chest of butter, and they ate that with a harness of walrus-hide. They had nothing to drink. The men were Ari Ingimundarson, Sighvatr köstr, Mör-Kári; the fourth was called Ögmundr. Afterwards fishermen from the Vestmannaeyjar found them and took them to the islands with them. And they were totally exhausted, as was to be expected.

A Translation of Lines 284 – 309 (e in Kå)

The next spring after Þórðr kakali went abroad to Norway, Sæmundr Ormsson rode out to meet Oddr and his men and he got self-judgement from his men. That same summer, when Sæmundr was at the þing, Þorvarðr Þórarinnsson seized Guðmundr Ormsson and some men with him and took them against their will to the Eastfirðs and they were held till St Oláf's Feast-day. Þorvarðr was outlawed at the Alþing for plundering, as were Oddr, Loptr Hálfðanarson and Magnús Jónsson.

After that, in the summer, they came to a settlement in Skagafjörðr and each of them gave a formal guarantee for his men in all those matters that had been arbitrated between the districts. It was

the agreement that they would draw lots with an oath to decide which of the two, Sæmundr or Þorvarðr, would pronounce the verdict on oath.

Now the lot fell on Sæmundr. This verdict was delivered under Lónsheiði and first he adjudged himself sixty hundreds from Þorvarðr for the capture of Guðmundr and two hundred from each of those who had gone with him. And for each eyrir paid, another eyrir had to be remitted. In the place of outlawing Þorvarðr, thirty hundreds were to be paid. He adjudged to himself thirty hundreds instead of outlawing Oddr. He stipulated a hundred from each of those who had accompanied Oddr from the north of the district. Twenty-five hundreds he adjudged from Loftr Hálfðanarson instead of outlawing him; and fifteen hundred from Magnús Jónsson's amount in lieu of outlawry. He judged for himself that territory that they had contended about; that was north of Lónsheiðr around the fjord to Gerpir and upwards in the district up to Eyvindará. And that equally reduced both the portions of the brothers. They shared equally those goðorðs that were north from there. Afterwards Sæmundr swore an oath on his verdict.

Then he invited them home and they accepted his invitation. He gave them fine gifts. Five weeks later Oddr had Þorsteinn Tjörvason slain and disapproval was expressed over that deed. Þorsteinn was married to Þórdís Jónsdóttir, the sister of Oddr's father.

A Translation of Lines 576 – 673

In the summer Eyjólf, Hrafn, Sturla and Þorleifr met in Vatnsdal and the slaying of Sæmundr vexed them greatly because of their kinship and the union Þórðr had knit together before he went away. They decided that they should wait for when a ship came from Norway and Þórðr came out [to Iceland] or else that he was not expected [to return].

It was said that if Gizurr were to arrive, they should hold his domain for him and also for each man he called upon. In all of that Þorleifr acted reluctantly and they thought him to be faint-hearted in

everything; they parted after that. But Eyjólfur invited them all to Geldingaholt on St Laurence's feast-day.

In the summer on St Laurence's day, there was a big feast at Geldingaholt. Hrafn Oddsson, Sturla Þórðarson, Þórðr Hítnesingr and Nikulás Oddsson attended.

Þorleifr in Garðar had sent Eyjólfur a letter, which was read at the feast. He said that Ögmundur Helgason lived so close to the church that although he wanted to set about seeking revenge, he would not come upon him [Ögmundur] in such a way that he [Ögmundur] would not quickly reach the church. Þorleifr declared himself trustworthy and dependable for whatever they wanted to undertake.

At the conclusion of the feast everyone departed. Sturla rode to Gunnsteinnsstaðr in the evening. That was the Wednesday evening before Mary's Mass.

When they went on their way in the morning, Sturla was melancholy. Þórðr Hítnesingr wanted to know why he was so sad and he said he was thinking about his dream. Þórðr asked what he had dreamt. He said he had dreamed that his father came to him and asked him tidings, and told him he had nothing to say. He in turn asked if he knew anything. But he said he knew nothing.

'You must have heard,' said Þórðr, 'a ship has come to Eyjaförðr and there is a black bear, which Böðvarr owns, our kinsman from Staðr, and the animal is said [to be] pretty vicious.'

'And when I wanted to ask more, I woke up.'

Þórðr asked what he thought the dream might signify. He said he knew clearly or supposed that Þorgils Böðvarsson would either have arrived in the country or would arrive very soon. That seemed likely to them. Then Þórðr enquired why he had been so quiet at Geldingaholt. Sturla says: 'Because I am so disgusted with everything there and everything seemed less beneficial to me than was promised. And it is not surprising that that was not the beginning of the separation between me and Eyjólfur.'

After that everyone rode home.

At this time Gizurr Þorvaldsson was with King Hákon. After he had gone abroad during the summer after the fight at Haugsnes, he constantly had some stewardship whether the king resided north or south.

And when Þórðr Sighvatsson had been in Norway after the fight at Haugsnes for one year he sailed for Iceland, as was written before, but Gizurr stayed behind in Norway and was much dissatisfied with his lot. He had a great shortage of money, yet feared greatly for his kinsmen and friends that Þórðr would become difficult for them to deal with. Gizurr resolved that he would travel abroad and went south to Rome.

Bróddi Þorleifsson was abroad in Norway then and he and Gizurr travelled together to the pope and some men with them. Innocentius was then pope in Rome. Gizurr received absolution for all his actions.

Eiríkr Valdimarsson was king in Denmark then, and Valdimar was king in Sweden.

With Gizurr on his trip abroad went Önuðr biskupsfrændi, Þorleifr hreimr, his sister's son, Auðunn kollr and Árni beiskr. They all got back home safely to Norway.

Now many sagas run together from here and one can be written at a time: now, for the present, Þorgils skarða must be spoken about and these sagas come together where Bishop Heinrekr and Gizurr and Þorgils came out to Iceland that summer when early in the spring the Ormssons were killed. This [is] a well-known saga and mostly emerged from written documents.

And when Gizurr had been in Norway for three years, he gained permission from King Hákon to sail for Iceland. They set out [from Norway to Iceland] in a ship with Bishop Heinrekr Kársson and many Icelanders. Þorgils skarði Böðvarsson, Finnbjörn Helgason, Arnórr Eiríksson and many other Icelanders were there. The ship came to Gásar in Eyjafjörðr and was skippered by Eysteinn hvíti. They brought news hither of the death of Archbishop Sigurðr. He had died in the winter, six nights before St Gregory's feast-day. Sörli was then chosen as Archbishop.

Gizurr was assigned the entire Norðlendingafjörðr and Þorgils skarði the entire Borgarfjörðr; Finnbjörn, Reykjardalr and thence north to Jökulsár.

And next Abbot Brandr Jónsson also came to the ship. He was in charge of all the priests in the entire bishopric of Archbishop Sigurðr.

Soon they all rode with many men westwards to Skagafjörðr. There a meeting of many people was summoned at Hestaþingshamri. The king's letter was read aloud and they all willingly consented to receive Gizurr as leader over them. Eyjólfur Þorsteinsson was also at the meeting with his followers and he was little pleased with Gizurr.

There was intimacy between Bishop Heinrekr and Gizurr. Gizurr sent men [with a message] south to his sons that they should meet him at Vinverjadalr with seventy men. He picked a troop from Skagafjörðr, sixty men, and they rode with him south to Vinverjadalr.

Three sons of Gizurr came to meet him: Hallr, Ísleifr and Ketilbjörn. He [Ketilbjörn] was then eighteen years old; the others were older. They were all manly in appearance. There was a great, joyful meeting between father and sons and other friends of Gizurr. The Skagfirðingar then rode north afterwards and Gizurr south and he stayed in Kallaðarnes during the winter and was surrounded by many men.

Then in the autumn, when Abbot Brandr came south into the district, Gizurr held a wedding feast with Gróa Álfisdóttir, the mother of Hallr and Ísleifr. That was with the consent of the priests and at this wedding feast Bishop Brandr was present. Bishop Heinrekr went home to his see at Hólar, while Þorgils skarði rode south to Borgarfjörðr and the men of the district accepted him rather coldly. He stayed in Stafaholt during the winter and had many valiant men with him. With him were Árnorr Eiríksson, Bergr Ámundason and many other men. Finnbjörn rode north to Reykjadalr and was in Grenjastaðr during the winter. The skipper, Eysteinn hvíti, was at Hólar with Bishop Heinrekr during the winter.

That summer when Gizurr came out to Iceland, Þórðr Sighvatsson sent out to Iceland Kolbeinn grön and Ári Ingimundarsson to his friends. They came out south of Eyri and then went thence west round the district to Hrafn Oddsson and Sturla Þórðarson. Hrafn lived at Sauðafel in Dalr while Sturla lived at Staðarhóll. Vigfús Gunnsteinsson lived in Garpsdalr. He was married to Guðný Sturludóttir. As soon as Kolbein and Ári came west they all came together, Sturlu, Hrafn, Vigfús and other friends

of Þórðr. And they resolved on the attack on Gizurr and during the winter before Yuletide went south into the district with seventy men.

In that excursion there were many brave men; they were on the mission at the instigation of Kolbein, Hrafn and Sturla. They came to Þorgils at Stafaholt unexpectedly and broke up the door. Þorgils leapt up with his followers. Hrafn wanted to have Þorgils killed, but Sturla would not allow that.

ADDENDUM III**GENEALOGICAL TABLES**

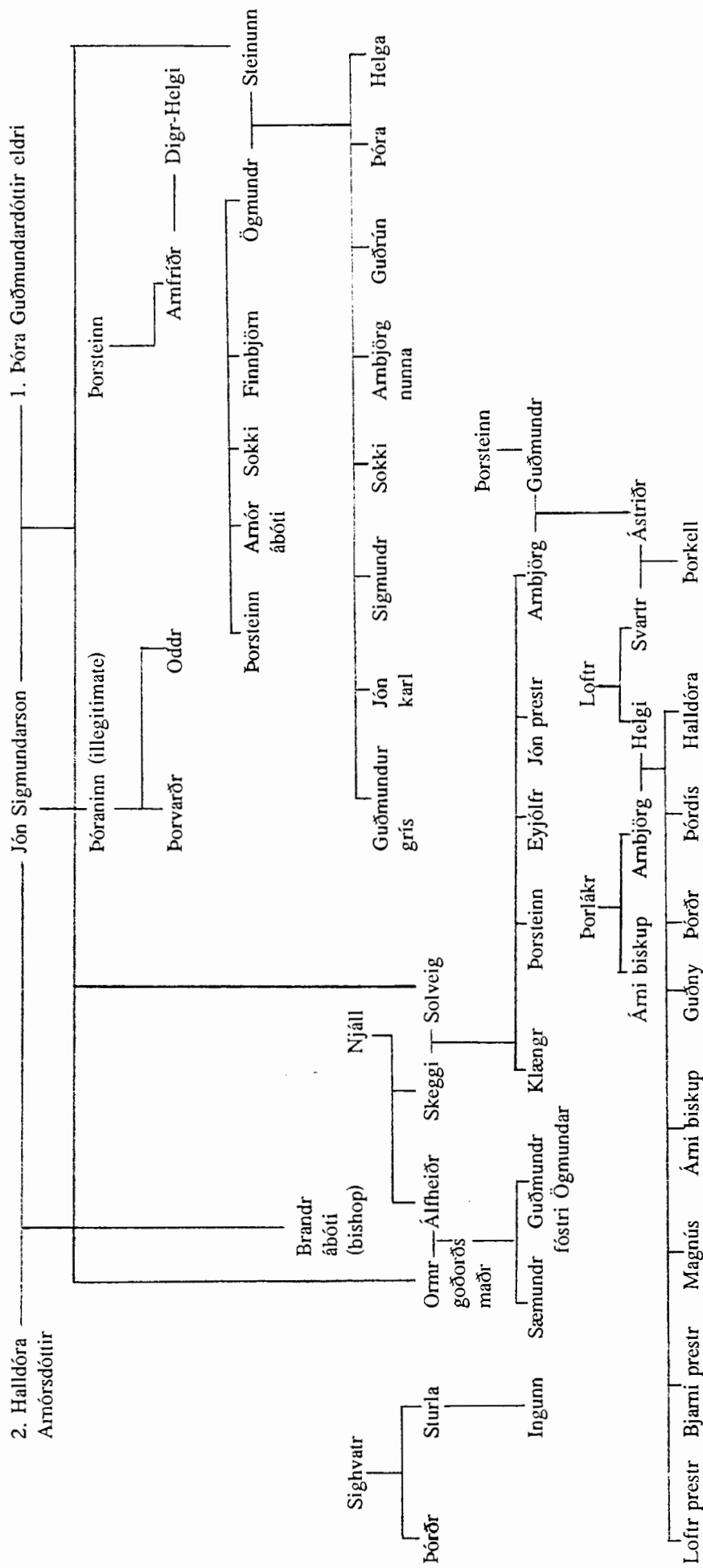
ADDENDUM III GENEALOGICAL TABLES

Svínfellingar

Jón Sigmundsson (d.1212)
 m 1. Þóra Guðmundardóttir
 m 2. Halldóra Arnórsdóttir

1:	Ormr Svínfellingr (d.1241) m Álfheiðr Njálsdóttir	Steinunn m Ögmundr Helgason	Solveig m Skeggi Njálsson	2: Brandr biskup (d.1264)	Þórarinn (illeg.d.1239) m Helga Helgadóttir	Þórdís (illeg.) m Þorsteinn Tjörvason
	Sæmundr (d. 1252) m Ingunn Sturludóttir	Ormr (d. 1270) m Krákr Tómasson	Oddný (illeg.) m Finnbjörn Helgason	Þorsteinn (d.1287)	Þorvarðr ridd- ari (d. 1296) m Solveig Hálf- danardóttir	Oddr (d. 1255) m Randa- lín Filippusd.
						Steinólfr (illeg.)

The extended family of the Svinfellings



*In Reykjarfjarðarbók this woman is called Ásbjörg.

Adapted from Thorsonn *et al.* (1988:III:138)

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graph TD
    Root1[ ] --- H1[2. Halldóra  
Armórsdóttir]
    Root1 --- H2[1. Þóra Guðmundardóttir eldri]
    Root1 --- H3[ ]
    H1 --- Sighvatr
    Sighvatr --- Þórþór kakali
    Sighvatr --- Sturla
    Sturla --- Ingunn
    Ingunn --- Sæmundr
    Ingunn --- Guðmundr
    Sæmundr --- Sigmundur
    Sigmundur --- Jón karl
    H2 --- Njáll
    Njáll --- Álfrheiðr
    Álfrheiðr --- Skeggi
    Skeggi --- Solveig
    Solveig --- Þorsteinn
    Þorsteinn --- Þorbjörg
    Þorbjörg --- Ástriðr
    H3 --- Digr-Helgi
    Digr-Helgi --- Ögmundur
    Ögmundur --- Steinunn
    Steinunn --- Sigmundur
    
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Supporters of Sæmundr and Ögmundr

Sæmundr Ormsson	Uncertain at first	Ögmundr Helgason
<div>Þórðr kakali</div> <div>Guðmundr Ormsson</div> <div>(Sæmundr's brother)</div> <div>fostered by Ögmundr</div>	<div>Egill skyrhnakkr</div> <div>Svartr Lofisson</div>	<div>Snorri sveimr</div>
<div>Þorsteinn Skeggjason</div> <div>Klængr Skeggjason</div> <div>Fjárgarðr austmaðr</div> <div>Hafr-Teitr</div> <div>Helgi Loftsson</div>		<div>Þórarinn Snorrason</div> <div>Árni gullskeggr</div> <div>Jón karl Ögmundarson</div> <div>Brandr Guðmundarson</div> <div>Pétur Grímsson</div> <div>Móðólfr djákni</div> <div>Halldór í Tungu</div> <div>Þorsteinn hrakauga</div> <div>Sigmundr Ögmundarson</div>

Arbitrators and peacemakers

Brandr ábóti Jónsson, Álfheiðr Njálsdóttir,
Steinunn Jónsdóttir and Skeggi Njálsson

Kirkbæingar.

Helgi Þorsteinsson (Digr-Helgi) í Kirkjubæ (d. 1235)
Amfríðr Þorsteinsdóttir

Ögmundur í Kirkjubæ m Steinunn Jónsdóttir					Helga m Þórarinn Jónsson
	Finnbjörn (d. 1255) m Oddný Ormsdóttir	Sokki (d. 1239)	Amórr ábóti (d. 1249)	Þorsteinn	
Guðmundr griss	Jón karl	Sokki	Sigmundr m Þórunn Einarsdóttir í Görðum, Ormssonar	Guðrún	Þóra
				Helga	Ambjörg nunna

Austfirðingar.

Teitr Oddsson djákn á Hofi (d. 1223)

Oddr
(d. 1205)

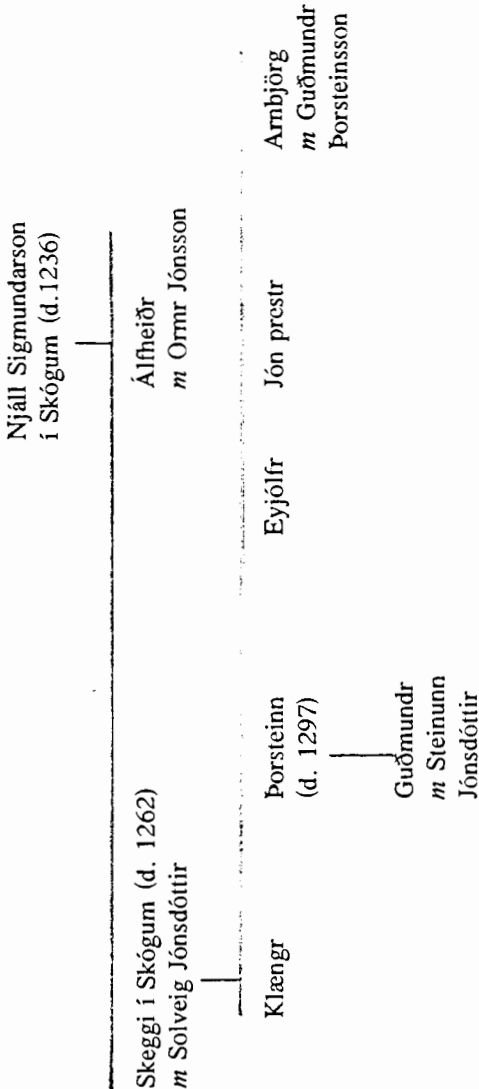
Sörli
(d. 1212)

Gróa

Ragnfríðr

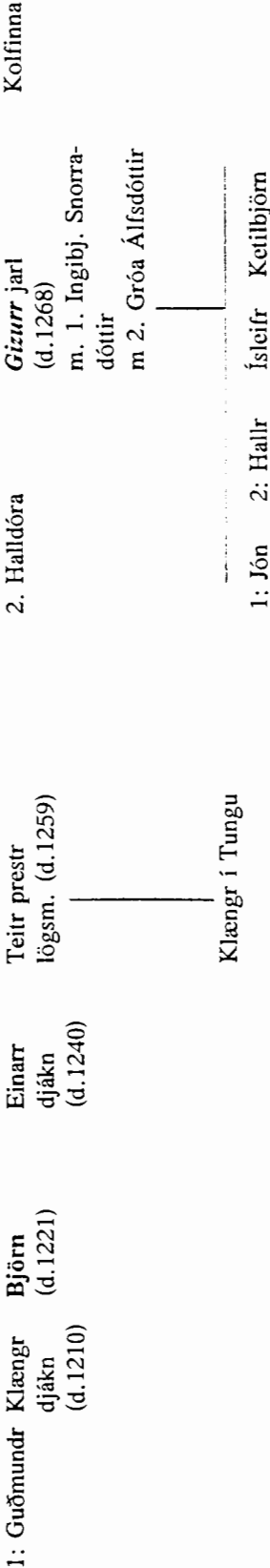
Teitr Hallsson
(Hafr-Teitr?)

Skógverjar.

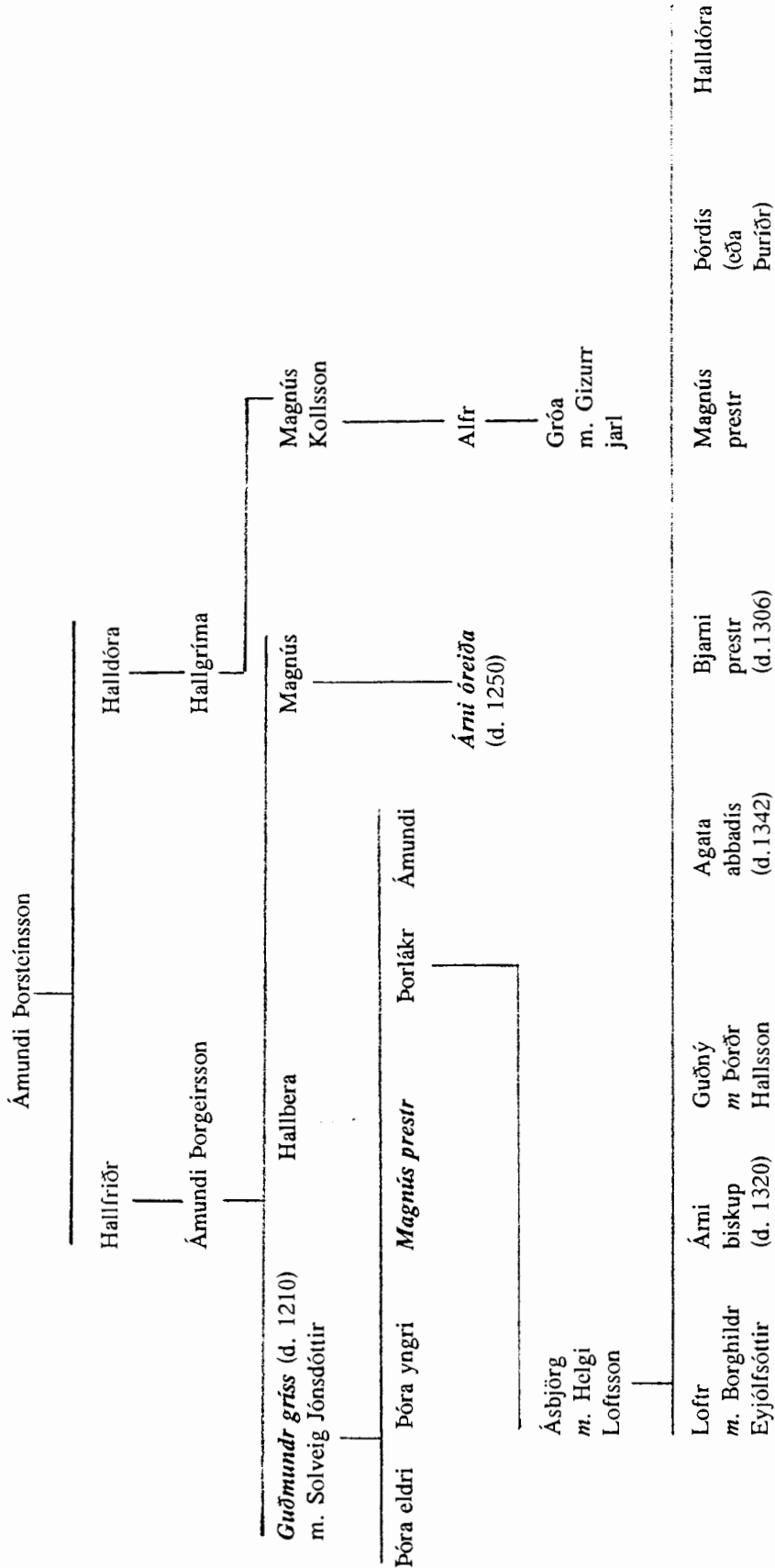


Haukdælir.

Þorvaldr Gizurarson
prestir (d. 1235) m 1. Jóra
Klaengsd. m
2. Þóra Guðmundardóttir



Ámundaætt.

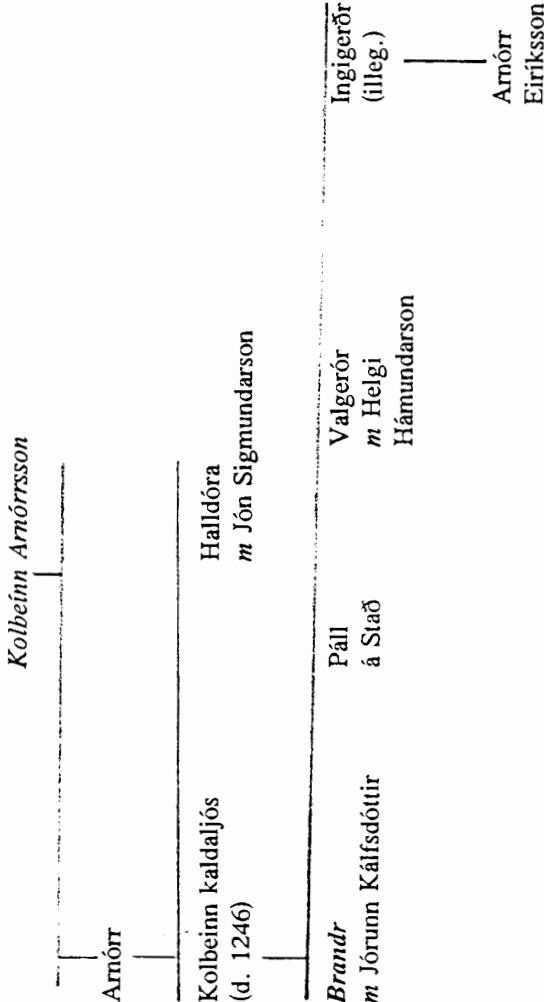


Sturlungar

Sturla Þórðarson m 2. Guðný Böðvarsdóttir

Þórðr djákn á Stað (d.1237) <i>m</i> 1. Helga Aradóttir childless. <i>m</i> 2. Guðrún Bjarnadóttir	Sighvatr á Grund (d. 1238) <i>m</i> Halldóra Tumadóttir		Snorri í Reykjaholti (d. 1241) <i>m</i> Herdís Bersadóttir
Sturla (d. 1238) <i>m</i> Solveig		Kolbeinn (d. 1238)	Þórðr kakali (d. 1256)
Jón (d. 1254)	Guðný	Ingunn <i>m</i> Sæmundr Ornsson	Þuríðr
Böðvarr á Stað <i>m</i> Sigríðr Arnórs- dóttir		Sturla lögm. (d.1284) <i>m</i> Helga Þórðardóttir	
Þorgils Sighvatr <i>skarði</i> (d. 1266) (d. 1258)			

Ásbirningar.



Oddaverjar

